

CONNECTIONS
POLITICAL COST
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INCREASES
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FIRMS
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UNLAWFUL
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Beware of those who spread enemy
propaganda! Don't repeat vicious
rumors or vicious whispers.
Tell it to the FBI!

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

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FOUNDED IN 1992

**GREEN: POLITICAL PANIC FROM MCCARTHYISM TO
CO-TERRORISM**

MEEROPOL WILL POTTER JENNY SYNAN RACHEL MEEROPOL
Author: "Green is the New Red"
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THE BUSINESS OF BACKLASH:

The Attack on the Palestinian Movement
and Other Movements for Justice

IJAN INTERNATIONAL
JEWISH
ANTI-ZIONIST
NETWORK



The Business of Backlash: The Attack on the Palestinian Movement and Other Movements for Justice



International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network
March 2015

The International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN) is an international network of Jews who are uncompromisingly committed to struggles for human emancipation, of which the liberation of the Palestinian people and land is an indispensable part. We are committed to the dismantling of Israeli apartheid, the return of Palestinian refugees, and to ending the Israeli colonization of historic Palestine. We coordinate and support Jewish participation in local and international efforts to challenge Zionism, Islamophobia and other racism, separatism and militarism, and work towards a society premised on the economic, political, social, cultural and environmental rights of all people, beginning with the most vulnerable communities. IJAN currently has chapters across the United States and chapters or affiliates in Argentina, Toronto, India, Israel, France, London, Geneva, Austria, New Zealand, Spain, and the Netherlands.

To order additional copies of this report and for more information about or to get involved find us on-line at www.ijan.org or contact us at ijan@ijan.org.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The report is based on the collective work of the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network responding to backlash against our work and that against the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements. The following IJAN members gave extensive time and attention to the research, writing and editing involved in completing this report: Sara Kershner, David Langstaff, Toby Kramer, Max Geller, Sam Weinstein, Josh Cadji, Rachel Marcus, Lee Gargagliano, Rio Scharf, Emma Rubin, Carla Hays, Sue Goldstein and Rebecca Hom. The insights of IJAN member, Global Women's Strike founder, author and long-time activist Selma James were invaluable to holding IJAN to our principles and commitments in the writing of this report.

This report, as with all of our work, would not have been possible without the camaraderie, solidarity and collective insight, experience, skill and commitment of the many partners with whom we share this struggle. The insights and discussions with Puerto Rican and labor activist Jaime Veve, Palestinian community organizer Lara Kiswani, activist lawyer Charlotte Kates, and Black liberation activist Kali Akuno greatly shaped the thinking behind and conclusions of this report. The edits and critical feedback of activist lawyers Maria LaHood, Dima Khalidi, Radhika Sainath and Andrew Dalack, Palestinian intellectual and activist Rabab Abdulhadi, academic activists Sunaina Maira and Bill Mullen and Palestinian community activist Sami Kitmitto were instrumental in working to make this document as accurate and useful as possible. For offering their experiences and cases of responding strategically to backlash, the following made significant contribution to the concrete examples offered in the report: activists with Students for Justice in Palestine at Northeastern, Cornell University, University of Michigan, Florida Atlantic University, and New York University, Palestinian activist and lawyer Lamis Deek, the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Initiative at SF State University, Eastside Arts Alliance and the Committee for the Defense of Rasmea Odeh.

The following organizations have informed the report directly and indirectly through our work together and their independent work and example of responding to backlash in ways that strengthen our movement and each other:

- » Al Awda – New York
- » Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Initiative, SF State University
- » Arab Resource and Organizing Center
- » Center for Constitutional Rights
- » Committee for the Defense of Rasmea Odeh
- » Global Women's Strike
- » Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
- » National Lawyers Guild Free Palestine Sub-Committee & Student Support Work Group
- » Palestine Solidarity Legal Support
- » Palestinian Youth Movement
- » Payday Network
- » Students for Justice in Palestine
- » US Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel
- » US Campaign to End the Occupation

FOREWORD

The bulk of the research and writing for this report was done by the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN). This is part of IJAN's ongoing work to expose the political and economic role that Israel and the U.S. play internationally. Our thinking reflects the collective discussions about and responses to **backlash** (see *glossary of terms*, page 96) that we have been part of with the individuals and organizations listed in the acknowledgments. We hope that this report can serve as a resource for the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements in the United States, as well as a tool with which to defend ourselves, and expose and challenge our opposition.

This report offers an illustrative and not exhaustive overview of the resources and interests devoted to stopping criticism of Israel and undermining support of the Palestinian movement for human rights and liberation, as well as those behind systematic attacks on Muslim, Palestinian, and other Arab activists and communities. Through donor-advised funds, funders support extreme anti-Muslim and anti-Arab racist propaganda and virulent attacks against pro-Palestinian organizing with some, if not total, anonymity. Therefore, it is not possible to gather all of the information on where the donor money behind backlash is invested, or to detail all of the people, organizations, and media outlets involved.

Some of these donors and foundations are supporters of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, and others support Israel because of the role that Israel plays in protecting U.S. interests in the region. What they share is an interest in ensuring U.S. support for Israel, and for wars and occupation in the region, both of which benefit their investments in oil, alternative energy, weapons, and militarization.

The report is also illustrative in a different way: It is a specific example of the ways in which money, power, and propaganda are deployed in service of the accumulation of profit by a handful of individuals. The donors this report discusses are not unique – the vast majority of the wealthiest people in the United States safeguard their economic interests and wield political influence in similar ways. The donors we investigate because of their deep involvement in Zionist backlash and **Islamophobia** also give to many other conservative and reactionary causes, think tanks, and propagandists. A great number of the wealthiest people in the United States funnel money through foundations and donor-advised funds to organizations, institutes, and media outlets whose work protects their investments, and which advance policies and ideas that facilitate their profit-making and political power. What is more, these “donations” – which are really investments – are themselves tax deductible. Such investments are, in fact, about tax evasion and consolidating wealth and power, and thus their representation as public goods is misleading.

With this report we hope to offer the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements in the United States information we can use to expose, confront, and thwart our opposition. In this way, the backlash being organized against the movement for Palestinian rights and freedom by those who support Israel and Islamophobia is a specific instance of the ways that power, profit, and politics work more generally.

A Note on Sources: The research and analysis which has been compiled and synthesized in this document has been gathered from a variety of sources, both activist and scholarly. For the empirical data on the financing of backlash, we have relied heavily on over ten thousand pages of publicly available tax returns (990s), as well as the work of prior investigative reports in on-line journals and searchable databases such as Sourcewatch, Citizen's Audit, Conservative Transparency, Guide Star and the Foundation Directory. As noted above, **elites** have intentionally obscured and even hidden much of this information from public scrutiny, and thus we have provided the most accurate and comprehensive data that we were able to access. We hope that this report will encourage more investigative research into the sources of funding for Islamophobia and backlash against the Palestinian movement as well as into Donor Advised Funds more broadly in hiding the ways that elite donors fund non-profits, foundations, media outlets, and public figures whose work and agendas secure and grow their profit.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

In the United States, criticism of Israel is increasing and support for the Palestinian movement for justice is growing. From the growing number of divestment resolutions by student bodies and academic associations across the U.S., to successful community campaigns to boycott or de-shelve Israeli goods, to blocking Israeli ships at ports across the U.S., the popular movement against Israeli colonialism and apartheid is having great success. Despite attempts to quash faculty and student speech, legally attack those organizing boycott campaigns, and prosecute Palestinian community leaders, the movement continues to surge.

In response, the purveyors of backlash are redoubling their efforts. At Florida Atlantic University, the administration has put a group of pro-Palestinian students on academic suspension until they graduate, placing them in “civility” courses run by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). In Detroit, Rasmea Odeh, a long-standing Palestinian human rights and community activist, is facing imprisonment and deportation. A Brooklyn-based grassroots Palestinian group was infiltrated by police seeking with which to smear and prosecute organizers and activists. And, at San Francisco State University, lobbyists accused the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities & Diasporas (AMED) Initiative of support for terrorism, trying to link faculty and students to illegal activity in an attempt to instigate legal action against them.

These are all cases in which movements and activists face **backlash**, meaning a concerted campaign to stop any and all criticism of Israel. Israel and its defenders, aware that their longstanding attempts to influence public opinion in favor of Israel are faltering, are investing over \$300 million in propaganda, surveillance, and **lawfare** directly aimed at silencing dissent and solidarity with Palestine. **These defenders include a small group of donors who run their money through family, public, and community foundations and donor-advised funds, and who are funding Zionist backlash in**

campuses and communities across the United States and the Islamophobia network—the network of organizations promoting virulent anti-Muslim propaganda, media, and policies in the United States. This report highlights 11 of the most significant members of this small group of donors who fund pro-Israel propaganda, and racist attacks on Muslim and Arab communities because it serves their political agendas and corporate interests.

This report outlines the tactics and funding of this network in order to:

- a. Expose the political, policy and profit-making interests behind Zionist backlash and Islamophobia;
- b. Offer the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements information we can use to defend ourselves and expose those who oppose and attack us;
- c. Strengthen our ability to respond to backlash through organizing, movement strategies and legal defense in ways that build our power and successes while exposing our opposition;
- d. Expose the interests behind and tactics being used to erode civil rights protections and suppress and criminalize free speech, political dissent and open debate;
- e. Offer practical evidence of the relationship between these interests and attacks on social justice movements more broadly; and, thereby,
- f. Build on the on-going legacy of joint struggle that has been so central to the Palestinian movement all along. By joint struggle we mean the ways we each find our specific stake in struggles for justice – whether our own or others’ – and in doing so find commonality across our movements. The evidence in the report suggests that, though our struggles are specific and may differ in urgency across place and time, there are not only parallels in what we are struggling.

This report is illustrative and not exhaustive. Our findings and conclusions are based on the incomplete, publicly-available information we were able to obtain. In fact, the obscurity of information which ought to be public knowledge in itself, illustrates how these elite donors manipulate the non-profit system to gain tax breaks while advancing their interests at the expense of movements for social justice, and communities struggling for survival and liberation.

The type of backlash laid-out in this report is not limited to people confronting oppression in Palestine; all powerful movements face these attacks. That said, the virulence of the attack on the Palestinian movement is in response to steadfast Palestinian resistance. Sarah Ali, a Palestinian woman from Jabalya refugee camp, expresses the indomitable spirit that is the target of anti-Palestinian backlash: “Let it be known... that the more they kill and destroy, the stronger we become... Now I would rather die with my family under the rubble of our house than have a humiliating truce. No justice, no peace.

Background

Since the late 1960s, US-based Zionist institutions have collaborated in attacks on movements for justice because they have seen their interests as aligned with those of the US state. Zionist institutions have played a prominent role in supporting the US government's campaigns to undermine and discredit radical Black, Chicano, and Indigenous people's movements.

These attacks are designed to promote the interests of the state of Israel and the Zionist movement at all costs, and in the process undermine hard-won civil rights legislation, legally protected political activity, and serve to invisibilize the real victims of racism and state-backed repression.

Furthermore, the false use of anti-Semitism masks the very material threats that Arab and Muslim people face in the United States. From the cases of the LA 8 and the Holy Land Five to those of Sami Al-Arian and Rasmea Odeh, Palestinians in the US face attacks on their citizenship rights and their very freedom.

Key Findings

I. Financing Backlash

1. Much of the funding of the Zionist backlash network comes from 11 extraordinarily wealthy individuals, many of whom acquired their wealth and retain investments in industries that directly profit from Israeli domination of Palestinians, Islamophobia, wars in the Middle East and environmental degradation.

- » Together, their foundations represent over \$10,000,000,000 in assets, which does not include their private wealth and individual giving.
- » Becker, Scaife, Koch, and Schusterman all made much of their profit through their investments in oil companies.
- » Chernick (of the Fairbrook Foundation) and Becker are heavily invested in weapons technology.
- » All of the major donors highlighted in this report, like most other members of the 1%, run their money through major investment banks which follow whatever investments will yield the most profit, running roughshod over people and the environment.

2. These individual donors and their foundations mask their involvement in funding Zionist backlash and Islamophobia through providing grants to donor-advised funds, community foundations and other intermediaries. Intermediaries or “anonymizers” are foundations that serve to obscure the identities of major donors.

- » In this manner, an organization like the Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles, while presenting itself as representing the Jewish community, provides a way for Newton and Rochelle Becker to fund Islamophobia and Zionist backlash anonymously. Accordingly JCF-LA has given more than \$100,000 to StandWithUs/Israel Emergency Alliance among many other backlash organizations.

- » One major intermediary is Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum, a key part of the backlash network as well as the Islamophobia Network outlined in the Fear Inc. report by the Center for American Progress. MEF receives funding from eight of the eleven major donors involved in backlash. In addition, MEF receives funding from two other main intermediaries and the Fairbrook Foundation. In turn, MEF funds over a dozen other backlash and Islamophobia outlets, and provided the seed funding for Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME). SPME gave seed money for the AMCHA Initiative, the pro-Israel watchdog based out of California, whose co-founders Tammi Rossman-Benjamin and Leila Beckwith have both served on the Board of SPME. MEF publishes the Middle East Quarterly and sponsors Campus Watch, Islamist Watch, the Legal Project, and the Washington Project. Pipes is also on the Advisory Board of the Clarion Project and Endowment for Middle East Truth.

3. Additionally, these funders are tied in with broader reactionary networks; Adelson, the Koch Brothers, Scaife and Bradley are among the biggest funders of right wing politicians and polices more generally.

- » Sheldon Adelson, the Koch Brothers, and the Bradley foundation have received widespread infamy for their bankrolling of far-right causes including attacks against organized labor and supporting the extreme right-wing of the Republican Party
- » The major funders of the backlash network also fund organizations targeting queer people and movements, public education, other social programs, and environmental regulations.

4. These donors also fund a network of think tanks and media outlets designed to advance Zionist ideology with the general public.

- » In addition to major funding for the Reut Institute, we see funding for an array of think tanks promoting the militarization,

policing at home and military invasions and occupations abroad.

- » These various media outlets, reporting often on the same story, create an echo chamber, lending extremist views an image of widespread popularity.

5. Side by side with attempting to destroy labor unions, many of these foundations contribute to charter schools and private health care facilities which serve to undermine publicly funded services.

- » Donations to museums, cultural institutions, and even universities can act as a form of economic pressure, where donors can threaten to withdraw funding if the funders disagree with the programming. For example, the Oakland Museum of Children's Art was pressured into taking down a show of Palestinian children's art.

II. Backlash Strategy: The Reut Institute Report

The Reut Institute Report, published in 2010, was a definitive strategy document for the backlash movement.

7. The Reut report identifies BDS as an "existential threat" to Israel, equal in importance to military threats.
8. The report outlines a key distinction between what they call "criticizers" and "delegitimizers" of Israel—and encourage backlash activist to isolate and discredit "delegitimizers"
9. In its report, the Reut Institute identifies "hubs" and "catalysts." Hubs are parts of the network with a strong influence and catalysts are the people who wield that influence. Globally, key hubs include London, Toronto, Paris and the Bay Area.
10. The report identifies students and organized labor as major contributors to past movements and recommends investing in confronting anti-Zionist organizing in these arenas.

Table of Backlash Funders: Profit Sources and Funding Priorities

Donor	Assets	Investments & Sources of Profits	Funding Priorities
Koch Brothers	\$115 billion	Manufacturing, refining and distribution of petroleum; pipelines; fertilizers; chemicals; energy; chemical technology equipment; finance	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, anti-environment, anti-immigrant, anti-women, anti-LGBT, privatization of education, anti-labor, privatization of healthcare, Tea Party and other right wing political organizations, pro-war, universities, neoliberal think tanks, pro-corporate power
Sheldon Adelson	\$37.6 billion	Las Vegas Sands Casino Group	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, anti-labor, conservative politicians
Schusterman Family Foundation	\$2 billion	Energy, deepwater developments (Buckskin & Moccasin), oil	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, privatizing education
Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation	\$630 million	Oil, weapons, Monsanto, energy, finance	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, anti-environment, anti-women, anti-LGBT, neoliberal ideology, anti-labor
Becker Foundations (Including JCF – LA)	\$548 million	Israel Bioengineering, Amphenol Corp, Air Products and Chemicals, Energen Corp, Questar Corp, Bear Sterns (finance)	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, pro-war, neoliberal think tanks, conservative politicians
Seth Klarman Family Foundation	\$300 million	Oil, tobacco, energy	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, Israeli settlements, opposing poverty relief, pro-war
Sarah Scaife Foundation	\$270 million	Oil, weapons, housing crisis, government debt & finance	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, neoliberal think tanks, privatization of public education, privatization of healthcare, anti-environment, anti-affirmative action, pro-surveillance, anti-immigrant, universities, pro-war
Russell Berrie Foundation	\$200 million	Goldman Sachs & Bear Sterns (finance)	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, universities
Koret Foundation	\$165 million	“Emerging markets” -industry and finance in places with few labor or environmental regulations	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, pro-war, privatization of healthcare, universities, neoliberal think tanks
Moskowitz Foundation	\$47 million	Buying and “flipping” hospitals, casino	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, Israeli settlements, far right political organizations
Fairbrook Foundation	\$45 million	Software, National Center for Crisis and Continuity Coordination (NC4) – serving aerospace and defense, banking and finance, government, law enforcement, oil and gas, pharmaceuticals and biotech, manufacturing, retail and telecommunications	Zionist backlash, Islamophobia, Israeli settlements, climate change denial, neoliberal think tanks, far-right political organizations

11. In response, the Reut Institute recommends building a network in order to counter our organizing. This report seeks to outline some of the funding and organization behind the network which has emerged.

Examples of some of the beneficiaries of the Backlash Network Funders include:

Agents of Zionist Backlash

- » ADL
- » Aish Hatorah (Hasbara Fellows)
- » Amcha Initiative
- » American Friends of Reut Institute
- » Brandeis Center
- » Christians United for Israel (CUFI)
- » The David Project
- » Hillels on campuses
- » The Israel Project
- » Jewish Community Relations Council
- » Israel on Campus Coalition
- » The Lawfare Project
- » Simon Wiesenthal Center
- » Scholars for Peace in Middle East
- » Stand With Us
- » Zionist Organization of America

Media and Propaganda

- » American Thinker
- » Atlas Shrugs (Pam Geller)
- » CAMERA
- » Commentary
- » Front Page Magazine
- » Israel National News
- » Jewish News Service
- » Middle East Forum
- » Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA)
- » Orbis Journal
- » PJ Media
- » Tablet
- » Times of Israel
- » Watchdog the Jewish Advocate
- » Israel HaYom
- » Truth Revolt
- » Legal Insurrection
- » Breitbart the Jewish Advocate
- » Algemeiner

III. Backlash Tactics

1. The Zionist Organization of American and the AMCHA Initiative have attempted to use Title VI of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 which protects against discrimination on the part of organizations receiving federal funding to reclassify criticism of Israel as discrimination against Jews.

2. Zionist organizations have tried to legislate censorship by pushing through bills criminalizing criticism of Israel in state legislatures in California, New York, and several other states, and on the congressional level through HR 707.

3. The backlash network uses law suits to derail BDS efforts and tie up organizers' time and resources. After organizers won a boycott at the Olympia Food Co-op, StandWithUs and the Israeli consulate pushed a costly lawsuit against the co-op's board members.

4. The backlash network wields accusations of material support for terrorism. In the case of Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi, the AMCHA initiative attempted to report the San Francisco University professor to the U.S. government, claiming her research agreements with Palestinian universities was somehow connected to "terrorism" and improper use of university funds.

5. Purveyors of backlash make false claims of anti-Semitism. A long-standing strategy of the Zionist movement is to equate Israel and Zionism with Jews and Judaism, and then denounce criticisms of Israel or Zionism as attacks on Jewish people or Judaism.

6. Our opposition uses spying and surveillance to collect information to use against the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements. A delegation to Palestine was attended by a Zionist infiltrator whose purpose was to collect names and private conversations of delegation participants in order to build a court case against the sponsoring organization. This case opened up a window into surveillance of Palestine solidarity organizing, revealing the cataloguing of the names of Palestine solidarity activists through mining petitions they had signed.

7. The backlash network has poured resources into counter-organizing and propaganda on campuses, paying students to promote Israel on social media and organizing a so-called “Israel Peace Week” in response to “Israel Apartheid Week.”

8. The backlash network seeks to isolate Palestine from other anti-racist and anti-colonial struggles through tokenizing Black, Latino and indigenous support of Israel. A concerted effort has been made to reach out to and/or manipulate Black, Latino and Native communities in the US. While this has not gained much traction within these communities, it is used to hide the natural alliance of people confronting US repression domestically and Palestinians.

9. The backlash network co-opts movements for justice through / “pinkwashing” and “greenwashing”: Zionist organizations manipulate oppression of queer people and Islamophobia to make Israel appear liberal, in spite of the fact that Palestinian queer organizations say unequivocally that their first priority is ending the occupation of Palestine. Additionally, Zionist organizations like the Jewish National Fund engage in “greenwashing,” masking their colonial projects as environmentalism, and promoting the image of Israel as “green.”

10. The backlash network leverages US state power through mechanisms including funding cuts, selective prosecutions around “material support for terrorism,” surveillance, and collaboration around training of police. Israeli state power is also instrumental in its direct funding and coordination with backlash organizations. For example, StandWithUs and the Lawfare Project worked in collaboration with the Israeli ministry of foreign affairs to bring a lawsuit against board members of the Olympia Food Co-op after the co-op had passed a divestment resolution.

Movement Successes and Implications

*“Thank you for supporting me. We can find the justice in some place maybe not in this court maybe in other place[s]. There’s justice in this world. We will find it... I feel I am strong. You will continue to be strong. We will face injustice. And we have to change this world.”
~Rasmea Odeh, November 4, 2014*

The victories and successful building of our movement, our ability to defend ourselves and each other, and our ability to develop organization and coordinated responses has been remarkable. We have done so with a tiny fraction of the resources that our opposition has, and in the face of Israeli and U.S. state power. We have done it largely with people power.

1. The movement has won important victories on campuses, within organized labor, and in communities.

There are nearly 300 active BDS campaigns on U.S. campuses and a growing number of academic associations are taking up and passing resolutions in support of BDS. UAW 2865, the University of California Student-Worker Union became the first major U.S. labor union to endorse BDS, and ILWU Local 10 honored a community picket of the Israeli Zim Ship, refusing to unload for four days. A multi-racial, multi-movement coalition forced the city of Oakland to stop hosting Urban Shield, a weapons and police training exposition where Israel has promoted its technology and training.

2. The movement is building its capacity to respond effectively to backlash.

The Center for Constitutional Rights, Palestine Solidarity Legal Support, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Asian Law Caucus have all been involved in the legal defense of Palestinian and solidarity organizers targeted by lawfare. Students for Justice in Palestine and USACBI are increasing national coordination to defend students and professors against backlash on campus. There are growing networks against backlash, including a West Coast and national network organized by IJAN, that focus on cross-movement building toward responding to

backlash through tactics of strategic defense that strengthen the Palestine Solidarity Movement and build collaboration across movements.

3. These backlash defense efforts have secured major victories.

Legal and organizing work forced rejection of the Title VI complaints against Rutgers and several U.C. Campuses, inviting a ruling that recognizes organizing in support of Palestine as politically protected activity. Popular organizing and legal defense, has thus far thwarted efforts to use Material Support Laws to target the Midwest 23, and won Rasmea Odeh's release from jail pending sentencing. A mass mobilization of 350 academics and public intellectuals as well as 500 Jewish activists, intellectuals and community members defeated attempts to defund the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas program in the Department of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University.

The following implications are a reflection of the discussions and organizing that the partners acknowledged in this report have done together and the ways we are figuring out how to defend ourselves. We have as our compass the courage and leadership of those who have been targeted and have lent their experiences to the strengthening of our movement.

1. Combining a broad public political campaign with a strong legal defense: Because our opposition's attacks are both political and legal, our responses need to combine strong organizing strategies with legal defense. In the cases of Northeastern University, San Francisco State University, and the Midwest 23 among several others, the coming together of popular organizing and legal defense have produced successful backlash defense that also makes shifts in the broader political climate toward support for the Palestinian struggle and against repression.
2. Building alliances across our differences and standing against attempts to divide us into "legitimate" and "illegitimate" dissent: Part of the Reut Institute's strategy is to create divisions based on political differences within the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement. Specifically, they describe wanting to separate those engaging in what they call "delegitimization" of a Jewish state in Palestine from those whose critiques and organizing may target Israeli state policy and practice and lift up the human rights of Palestinians, but don't question the idea or fact of a Jewish state in Palestine.
3. Defending free speech and academic freedom as central to the protection of dissent, particularly anti-racist movements, while challenging racist speech: The protection of free speech and academic freedom, as well as freedom from censorship, are important battles, and ones that have wide popular support in the United States. The repression of free speech is most often an extension of the violence and repression used against those whose voices and experiences challenge exploitation and oppression. Defending the free speech of Palestinians, other Arabs, Muslims and others struggling for self-preservation and self-determination does not conflict with challenging actual racist speech.
4. Identifying opportunities for strategic defense and offensive strategies: By strategic defense we mean fighting backlash in ways that both successfully defend our organizing and also strengthen it. This might include setting public agency policies, legal precedents, or campus administrative policies that expand the protections we have as a movement or which discourage our opposition from the tactics they use against us.
5. Continuing the long history of joint struggle between the Palestinian movement and other movements for self-preservation and justice: From the national liberation struggles of the 1960s and 1970s to the South African anti-apartheid struggle to the anti-war movements of the 1990s and 2000s to today's uprisings against police killings and other forms of State violence against Black and Brown communities, Palestinian and other Arab-led efforts have sought to join their struggle with other struggles for self-determination.

As it has been across history, and as this report demonstrates, the basis for joining together in struggle is not just parallel struggles against racism and repression or the political principle of solidarity and interdependence. It is also that movements for survival, freedom and justice share enemies in common whose interests literally erode and threaten everything these movements hold dear. Their power and resources are immense. Thus solidarity and joint struggle are not only principled but also strategic.

Conclusion

This report documents the major funders of Zionist backlash and Islamophobia and the huge amounts of money they spend to attack the Palestinian movement and other movements for justice. It demonstrates how their funding priorities stem from their profit interests, including investment in destructive industries like energy extraction and weapons technologies. The report highlights many organizations that are the main beneficiaries of the funding, and the strategies and tactics they employ. We offer this information in order to expose the ways in which our opponents collaborate to maintain their wealth and power at the expense of people and the planet. We hope that this information proves useful to those who, from various locations, are struggling for justice.

INTRODUCTION

*“If they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night”
- James Baldwin from “An Open Letter to my Sister, Angela Y Davis.”*

In the United States, as with other periods of time during the 65-plus year colonization of Palestine, there is growing criticism of Israel and growing support for the Palestinian movement for justice. From successful divestment resolutions from students and academic associations across the U.S., to successful community campaigns to boycott and de-shelve Israeli goods, to blocking Israeli ships at ports across the U.S., the push against Israeli colonialism and apartheid is having great success. Despite attempts to quash faculty and student speech, legally attack those organizing boycott campaigns, and prosecute Palestinian community leaders, the movement continues to surge.

Israel and its defenders, aware that their longstanding attempt to control public opinion in favor of Israel is faltering, are investing over \$300 million in propaganda, surveillance, and legal warfare to silence dissent and solidarity with Palestine.¹ At Florida Atlantic University, the administration puts a group of pro-Palestinian students on academic suspension until they graduate, placing them in “civility” courses run by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). In a Detroit courtroom, Rasmia Odeh, a long-standing Palestinian human rights and community activist, is threatened with deportation. In a grassroots Palestinian group in Brooklyn, committed to defending the natural right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, a police infiltrator lurks, looking for information with which to smear and prosecute organizers and activists. And at San Francisco State University, lobbyists accuse the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities & Diasporas (AMED) Initiative of support for terrorism, trying to link faculty and students to illegal activity in an attempt to instigate legal action against them and to shut down areas of academic inquiry and thought that lifts up the Palestinian movement for justice as well as broader social justice movements.



Protest at Northeastern University against attack on Students for Justice in Palestine.

These are all cases in which movements and activists face **backlash**, meaning a concerted campaign to stop any and all criticism of Israel, and to do so by any means necessary. That means eradicating support for the Palestinian struggle and movement work that can be used against Israel. They use military, surveillance, economic, political and legal means to achieve this goal, and take these strategies as far as they are able to get away with. While there are novel and specific characteristics to this latest round of anti-Palestinian organizing – and to anti-Palestinian organizing in general – such repression is certainly not limited to people confronting oppression in Palestine. These forms of diverting and destroying grassroots activism occur whenever there are movements against oppression, both in the United States and globally.

That said, there are several reasons for the particularly virulent nature of anti-Palestinian backlash and repression. The first is the steadfast militancy of Palestinian resistance and the international solidarity it has inspired for over 65 years. The second is the political significance and contributions of the Palestinian liberation struggle to so many struggling against Western racism and colonialism around the world. The words of Sarah Ali, a Palestinian woman from Jabalya refugee camp, express the determination that is ultimately the target of Israel and anti-Palestinian backlash:



Let it be known to (Israel) that the more they kill and destroy, the stronger we become...Now I would rather die with my family under the rubble of our house than have a humiliating truce. No justice, no peace.

The third is the crucial role Israel plays in safeguarding U.S.-European interests in the Middle East and North Africa – and the threat that both the Palestinian struggle and the broader movements of the global South that it inspires poses to these interests. The repression of the Palestinian struggle therefore serves two interrelated purposes: 1) undermining struggles that threaten to upset the current global configuration of wealth and power; and 2) utilizing the technologies and methods of repression that the Israeli state has developed through more than six decades of settler-colonial

violence against Palestinians in service of a global industry of repression. The states most involved with this industry profit from perpetual war and occupation across the globe while maintaining vastly unequal societies of their own. Israel exports weapons, technologies, training, and techniques of violence for use by governments and corporations against populations around the world and to repress and monitor struggles for justice.²

It is therefore not surprising that those funding the repression of the Palestinian movement in the United States are often involved in funding an array of other conservative causes. Their commitment to destroying support for Palestine in the United States is a central component of the larger project of undermining progressive causes.

Careful examination of the structure of Zionist backlash reveals several crucial aspects of the institutions, structures and practices of repression – both specific to the Palestine cause, and also more broadly. This repression supports and is supported by state and corporate power in both Israel and the United States. **This report makes several main and interlinked arguments concerning that architecture of power and how it operates.**

One: There is an elite group of donors who run their money through family, public, community and donor-advised foundations and funds, and who are funding Zionist backlash across campuses and communities across the United States and the Islamophobia network. As documented in the report, these donors fund this backlash, pro-Israel and Islamophobic propaganda, and racist attacks on Muslim and Arab communities because it serves their political agendas and corporate interests. They work in close collaboration with and have a high level of influence in the U.S. and Israeli governments.

They are not different from other elites who fund policy institutes, think tanks, media outlets, and organizations that promote policies, activities, campaigns, and propaganda that reflect their own ideas and protect their profit and power. For example, pharmaceutical companies fund misinformation that produces doubt about evidence detailing the harm their pharmaceutical products cause. Another example is corporations whose practices are particularly environmentally destructive funding misinformation concerning the evidence of human-caused climate change, toxic waste, species extinction, and critical shortages in basic resources such as water.

The elite funders whom we identify in this paper have ideological and financial investments that benefit from support for Israel, and the promotion of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism. But it is not a surprise that they also fund a whole host of other reactionary causes such as climate change denialism, war, and the destruction of public services. Many of their investments benefit from all of these great harms and injustices that social justice movements in the United States and internationally are working to stop. Thus, they have a shared interest in stopping such movements.

Two: This is emphatically not a conspiracy theory – Jewish or otherwise. As described on pages 34-35, the interests and levels of investment in pro-Israel and backlash funding by elites do not accurately reflect the values, priorities and interest of the number of American Jews they claim to represent. As the evidence demonstrates, support of Israel is more about how conservative funders’ ideologies are aligned with industries that produce profit – which Zionist backlash and Islamophobia are crucial to maintaining – and less about some conspiracy theory that connects abstract dots between “Jewish money,” industry, and power. In fact, the largest reactionary foundation funders we highlight are not Jewish – Bradley, Koch Brothers and Scaife.

This report is a factual and well-documented analysis of the networks of power that exists between the world’s largest, most well-funded military (the United States) and one of the most sophisticated militaries (Israel), a dozen or so of the world’s richest individuals, a dozen of some of the best-resourced foundations in the United States, and a thick layer of individuals who promote and benefit **from these larger structures of power**. All of these institutions, unsurprisingly, work together to maintain their power and profits, and that means close and intense collaboration. However, many of these relationships of power are intentionally hidden from public scrutiny by the sheer complexity and obscuring of financial flows (see above note on “Anonymizers”).

The lines between high levels of governments, the elite, and multinational and large domestic corporations are thin if not altogether illusory – they operate with shared interests, mutual dependency, and significant overlap. Government officials literally sit on corporate boards and have holdings in firms which make millions, or billions, from U.S. domestic and foreign policy – from oil and energy to prisons, to war and “rebuilding” in occupied countries. In turn, boards and CEOs of corporations are involved directly and indirectly in government, sitting on committees, influential in think-tanks that inform U.S. foreign and domestic policies, running for office, investing in various government agencies – literally, owning shares of the U.S. Treasury and debt, in Fanny Mae and Freddie Mac – financing politicians as well as both the Democratic and Republican parties, and finally running for office.

Finally, though it is not this report’s focus, the information contained herein demonstrates the role that foundations play in undermining popular movements and more fundamental change. This is true not only of the conservative foundations and the donor-advised foundations that give to both the conservative and liberal causes mentioned in this report. It is, with very few exceptions, the nature and role of foundations. There has been significant work done to describe this role and its relationship to how the government and wealthy elite shape which social change initiatives get resources, and thereby influence policy change and access corporate media. This critical work highlights the ways in which foundations influence movement priorities by determining access to resources and power. In this way, elites may at times fund NGOs that “promote political change... [in order] to head off disruptive or revolutionary movements.”⁵ Ultimately, however, “the hidden hand of foundations can control the course of social change and deflect anger to targets other than elite power.” In the United States, one body of work that has been most influential in exposing the role of mainstream non-profits and the

Anonymizers: Recently there have been several investigative articles on the role that “donor-advised funds,” or anonymizers, play in facilitating the contributions that very wealthy people can give to causes that they do not want to visibly support. Two of the largest and most significant funds that serve this function for conservative donors, several of whom are included in this report, are Donors Capital Fund (DCF) and Donors Trust (DT). The twin funds operate out of the same address and, according to their website, were “formed to safeguard the charitable intent of donors who are dedicated to the ideals of limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise.”

Both funds allow very wealthy people and corporations to remain hidden when “funding sensitive or controversial issues,” while remaining anonymous and avoiding accountability. The main issues they redistribute donor funds to include climate change denial, Islamophobia, and reducing and privatizing public services and government. Between 2002 and 2011, the twin funds distributed over \$311 million to conservative causes. The Koch Brothers pass several millions of dollars through both funds as does the Bradley Foundation.

Though less scrutinized than DPC and DT, the Jewish Communal Fund, Jewish Community Foundation of LA and Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP) of Boston are also donor advised funds. In general, the services that donor-advised funds provide to its donors include identifying potential organizations that reflect the interests of any given donor and providing anonymity so that those receiving the gifts and the public do not know the identity of the donors.

foundations that fund them is INCITE! Women of Color against Violence's *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*.⁶

Three: The role of the Israeli and U.S. governments is central to these efforts. Through legislatures, courtrooms, police forces, government agencies, and, of course, the military, these two governments attempt to use their power to constrain and eliminate all movements against oppression and exploitation. There are many mechanisms for this work. They prosecute political dissidents, legislation to turn certain criticisms of Israel into hate speech, turning political and humanitarian relationships with global South resistance movements into crimes, policing and incarcerating members of communities from which dissent arises and which have historically faced oppression and discrimination in this country. They also deport activists who may retain links to the struggles in their homelands, or simply target communities wholesale, as happened in the post-September 11, 2001 Islamophobic government witch-hunts in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Four: Often prompted by the network of pro-Israel organizations, local, state and federal governments can and do cut off public funding to universities and community-based organizations on political grounds. Private foundations that fund backlash against pro-Palestine organizing and/or fund pro-Israel groups or media, similarly threaten organizations and universities with a loss of funding for supporting the Palestinian struggle. On campus, **the U.S. state and pro-Israel foundations use economic coercion** to limit free speech and academic freedom in institutions that were supposedly designed to preserve such values. Off-campus, they use such tools to starve of needed resources grassroots, community-based organizations that express solidarity with Palestine, and which have a right to state funding. One example was the threat to city funding of San Francisco Women Against Rape – a rape crisis center that serves a majority women of color who have experienced sexual assault. Their city contract was delayed for over nine months after the Jewish Community Relations Council of SF accused them of creating an environment that would prevent Jewish women from accessing their services due to the support they expressed to Muslim, Arab and Palestinian women targeted by racism, including **Zionism**, following September 11, 2001.

Five: The communities and people who are the targets of these efforts are the same ones that the state has always targeted: those most impacted by racism and economic exploitation and therefore those from which the most powerful resistance has come. The intent is to keep them repressed, in a struggle for survival, and in a state of fear, in order to dissuade and create barriers to collective mobilization against the oppression and exploitation the government, corporations, and the ruling tier of society need to maintain their control over resources, labor, and markets. Activists hailing from these communities and experiences of repression and exploitation have historically confronted the most brutal face of state power, precisely because of the threat they pose by activating and mobilizing their communities against day-to-day repression. These communities and people include: Black and Brown communities, including immigrants and indigenous peoples, workers – organized, independent, undocumented or excluded – incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people, transgender and queer people, women fighting against sexism and communities who were forced from their homelands, often by U.S. foreign policy, or whose homelands are currently under attack by the U.S. and its allies, or whose economies and cultures are being devastated by the current economic system.

Similarly, other movements and dissent that threaten the unbridled quest for profit find themselves up against well-funded efforts by donors and right-wing foundations.

Six: The targeting of Palestinian, other Arab and Muslim activists in the U.S. plays a particular role in this broader repression. Islamophobia is crucial in manufacturing fear of Muslim populations that justifies the constant use of U.S. power and violence and the constant chaos which is the result of that violence.⁷ Such chaos allows for the manipulation of oil prices and endless arms sales in a vicious cycle, to the great profit of the U.S. petroleum corporations, banks, and arms manufacturers. Thus, Islamophobia is a crucial factor in manufacturing consent for U.S. military, political and economic domination in the Middle East of which Israel plays a central role.⁸ For that reason, anti-Muslim, anti-

Arab racism, aka Islamophobia, is central to U.S. political adventures abroad and the suppression of those in the U.S. those most likely to resist attacks against their home countries and communities.

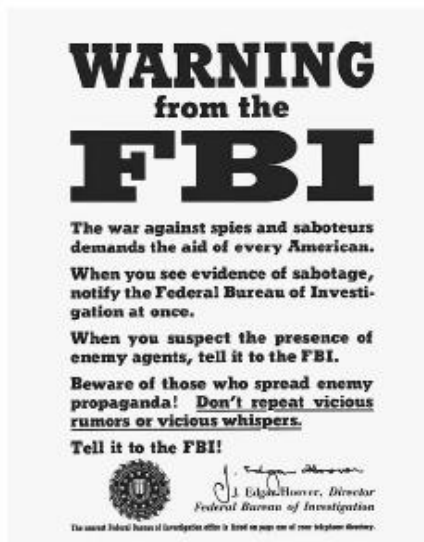
Despite the vast resources – literally hundreds of millions of dollars – behind the backlash against the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements and BDS network, we have had many successes. Following from the leadership from Palestine and the Palestinian diaspora, including the grassroots 2005 Palestinian call for BDS, we have seen incredible victories and remarkable effectiveness in defending ourselves and each other.⁹ We have relied on people power, with a tiny fraction of the resources that our opposition has, and against Israeli and U.S. state power.

This report provides evidence for these arguments, and in doing so seeks to:

- a) Expose the profit, policy and political interests behind Zionist backlash and Islamophobia;
- b) Offer the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement information it can use to defend itself and expose those who oppose and attack us;
- c) Strengthen our ability to respond to backlash through organizing, movement strategies and legal defense that build our power and successes while exposing our opposition;
- d) Expose the interests behind and tactics being used to suppress and criminalize free speech, political dissent and open debate and erode civil rights protections;
- e) Offer practical evidence of the relationship between these interests and attacks on social justice movements; and, therefore,
- f) Build on the on-going legacy of **joint struggle** that has been so central to the Palestinian movement all along. By joint struggle we mean the ways we each find our specific stake in struggles for justice – whether our own or others’ – and in doing so find commonality across social justice movements. The evidence in the report suggests that, though our struggles are specific and may differ in urgency across place and time, there are not only parallels in what we are struggling against and for, but we literally share some of the same enemies. This fact, in turn, confirms the importance of joint campaigns and efforts against the corporations, donors, foundations and organizations that wreak devastation on our communities, movements, and the world.

HISTORY & BACKGROUND

No doubt there are similarities between Zionism and McCarthyism. At the same time, this similarity does not occur in a vacuum. The Israeli state plays a pivotal role in the so-called war on terror and speaks the Islamophobic rhetoric of “homeland security” with impunity. Escalating support for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions is seriously threatening to upset Israel’s plans for Palestine, plans in lock-step with U.S. and Canadian interests in the Middle East. As support for Palestinian self-determination grows and strengthens, Zionist reaction will escalate. Here in Canada we can expect more McCarthy-like scare tactics against Palestinian advocacy. The primary targets will be Palestinian, Arab and Muslim organizations and individuals, and other Communities of Color. Jews and others in solidarity may well be targeted for their work in support of Palestinian self-determination, but are not besieged by the apparatuses of the so-called war on terror and the racist rhetoric that fuels it.
~ Naomi Binder Wall¹⁰



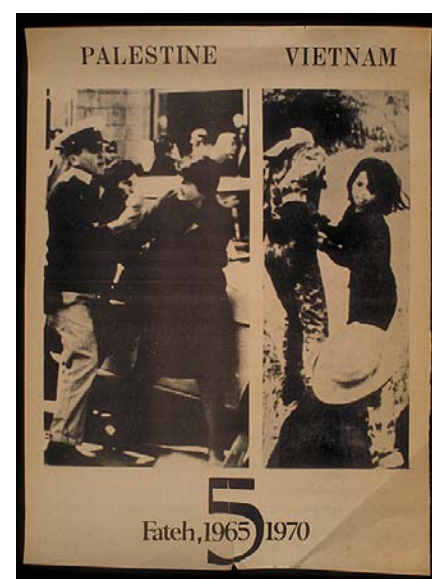
While there are unique aspects and strategies to the current repression against U.S.-based Palestine activism, there is much that is not new. There is a long history of movement repression in the United States – from the Palmer Raids, to McCarthyism, to COINTELPRO, and more recently to the wars on communities that are described for propaganda purposes as Wars on Drugs, Immigration, and Terror.¹¹ The targeting of immigrants has generally blended seamlessly with targeting of people deemed “not like us,” a racist technique which worked in lockstep with anti-red agitation meant to prevent communist, socialist, and anarchist ideas from gaining a foothold among those most attacked, exploited, and repressed in this country. Zionist organizations played their part. For example, in the 1950s, under the banner of “Jewish Labor Fights Communism,” the Jewish Labor Committee (JLC) strengthened and stood behind the McCarthyite purges of dissidents in both the government and the labor movement, despite the anti-Jewish tone to much of the anti-Communist propaganda.¹²

Furthermore, at that time the U.S. government was prosecuting Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Jewish Communists, for treason – passing nuclear secrets to the U.S.S.R. An element of this prosecution was the constant government and popular attempt to link Communism to Jews, through antisemitic and anti-red slurs and stereotypes which the Nazis also deployed. It was specifically because Jewish leadership was central to communist and socialist organizing in the United States that Jews were so viciously targeted, and, in turn, why anti-Jewish sentiment was intentionally conjured up as part of the anti-communist purges. Ultimately, the JLC helped to undermine the campaign to protect the Rosenbergs from the state – not the first time that Zionist organizations put their commitment to supporting the elite agenda over opposition to **antisemitism**.

The JLC also supported broader U.S. Cold War foreign policy, urging the government to arm Israel against “Communist and Arab designs,” and declaring that the conflict in the Middle East was not “simply between Egypt and Israel, but between democracy and expansionist dictatorship, between the free world and Nasserism backed by Moscow...Events,” they noted, had also “demonstrated the basic identity of interest of Israel and the free world.”¹³ Here the Zionist institutions played a role they would perfect by the 1970s and 1980s, relaying and amplifying the concerns of the most belligerent sectors of the U.S. corporate elite and linking them with support for Israel. Of course, the Zionist institutions were pushing on an open door.

Because they saw themselves similarly threatened by movements for self-determination, Zionist institutions have played a very prominent role in **supporting the U.S. government's COINTELPRO program to undermine and discredit radical Black, Chicano, and indigenous people's organizations and social movements.**¹⁴ The primary motives of Zionist institutions in supporting these destructive campaigns are to keep these communities from challenging U.S. policies and programs that support the state of Israel and from supporting the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. Zionist institutions understood then as they do now, that the old Industrial Workers of the World refrain, "An injury to one is an injury to all," also meant that any victory or foothold gained by one anti-racist, anti-apartheid, anti-colonial, national liberation struggle solidified the ground for another, including the Palestinian liberation movement.

The Zionist movement started becoming concerned with the politics of the Black, Chicano, and Indian (Indigenous) Liberation Movements in the late 1960s, after many key organizations in these movements adopted pro-Palestinian and Arab positions following the 1967 war between Israel and the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria) and Jordan. The first major organization of this period that adopted an anti-Zionist position was the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Following the 1967 War, SNCC published a series of articles in its newsletter that supported Palestinian liberation, questioned Israeli settler-colonialism, and raised questions about Israel's support for the South African apartheid regime. Following this publication Zionist institutions and their allies launched a vicious campaign against SNCC that further eroded the organization's financial support from liberal and radical whites, particularly its New York Jewish base of support (which started with the organization's adoption of the "Black Power" slogan and politics in 1966), and helped hasten the decimation and gradual dismantling of the organization from the summer of 1967 onwards.



In 1967, the Jewish Labor Committee (JLC) called the SNCC an "apostle of racism" for having called Israel racist and imperialist. That same year, while Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. publicly spoke out against the Vietnam War, the JLC hosted a dinner at which President Lyndon Johnson linked support of the war on Vietnam to Israel's 1967 War, claiming that U.S. "commitment to a small and distant country in Southeast Asia is being tested. . . . [and that] [t]he same kind of issues are at stake in the Middle East."¹⁵ In 1968, the JLC honored Hubert Humphrey, Johnson's pro-war vice-president and Democratic Party presidential nominee.¹⁶ In this way, the Democratic Party was able to take full advantage of the Zionist formulation that criticisms of Israel were intrinsically antisemitic, and to leverage that into financial, popular, and political support for policies and projects meant to expand the reach of U.S. power – a power to which Israel's military role in and threat to the region was and is central.

The Democratic Party started policing those within its ranks who questioned the U.S.'s unwavering support and disproportionate financial and military aid to Israel. This included the Black and Latino congressional caucuses. For example, since its founding in 1969, members of the Congressional Black Caucus (originally named the Democratic Select Committee) have questioned the disproportionate amount of funding Israel received from the United States. They compared it to the amount of funding and aid going to Africa and the predominantly African and Asian descendant nations of the Caribbean. Numerous Black Congressmen and women have questioned why Israel receives, on average, more yearly funding from the United States government than all of the nations of Africa combined. A few members of the Latino Caucus have raised similar questions over the years as it pertains to U.S. funding for Latin America.

That agenda is reflected in the comments of Judge David Rose of the Anti-Defamation League's (ADL) national executive committee at the 1971, 58th annual meeting of the ADL. There, according to the

Jewish Telegraph Agency, he warned that “opposition to Israel and to American support for Israel may replace Vietnam as a key issue of the far Left.” Rose went on to say that “the anti-Israel hate campaign by these extremists not only poses a serious threat to Israel’s survival but is, in its broadest sense, anti-Jewish” – one of the earliest episodes when accusations of antisemitism could serve U.S. imperial policy by abusing the memory of Jewish suffering and Jewish victimhood, by directly aligning Israel with the Jewry of the United States and principled anti-colonial anti-Zionism with antisemitism.¹⁷



As more and more radical organizations of the late 1960s and 70s began to identify and stand in solidarity with the national liberation movements in Africa and Asia and the social revolutions in Latin America and Iran, they grew closer to the Palestinian national liberation movement. Their anti-Zionism added to the reasons why many of these organizations, such as the African People’s Party, the Congress of African People, the African Liberation Support Committee, the National Black Political Convention, the August 29th Movement, La Raza Unida, and the American Indian Movement – just to name a few – became targets of disruption and discrediting by the United States government and their Zionist allies. Disruption included everything from surveillance, to mail tampering, to discrediting initiatives, to campaigns to disrupt the funding of these organizations.

Its greatest impact however, was in dividing radical organizations from these communities from more liberal or moderate organizations in those same communities. Many Zionist institutions adopted a strategy of offering generous financial and political support to Black, Latino, and indigenous organizations that supported Israel and its territorial claims or remained silent about Israel and its actions and policies. That included its actions not just within historic Palestine, but also internationally – in Africa, for example, in support of the apartheid regimes of South Africa, Southwest Africa, later Namibia, and Rhodesia, and still later Zimbabwe.¹⁸ Similar processes took place in Latin America, where it supported the dictatorship of Brazil and the counter-revolutionary movements in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador specifically.¹⁹ Within the Black community this Zionist strategy kept many “mainstream” civil rights movements from supporting critical efforts and advancing Black rights domestically and internationally. One example is the NAACP’s abandonment of the National Black Political Convention in 1972 for its criticism of Israel’s occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Another is the NAACP’s reluctance to fully embrace and engage the anti-apartheid struggle until the early 1980s. The links between Israel, the Zionist movement, and the apartheid regime were a common feature in the educational materials of the movement until the mid-1980s. The basis of the shared analysis of and solidarity between the South African and Palestinian national liberation struggles was their shared confrontation with settler-colonial states.²⁰ The way opposition to Israel was so clearly tied to opposition to apartheid scared those reluctant to criticize Israel from taking part in the opposition to either of the colonial powers.

The penalties the Zionist movement was able to inflict on individuals from the moderate organizations who ran afoul of their agenda reinforced this divide. The most glaring example is the “Andy Young Affair.”²¹ On July 20, 1979 Andrew Young, who was a prominent member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) serving as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations during the administration of President Jimmy Carter, held a secret meeting with a representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in an attempt to delay a report calling for a Palestinian state. The meeting was secretly recorded by Mossad agents and leaked to the press on August 10. The Zionist movement created an international controversy about the meeting and exerted tremendous pressure on President Carter to fire Ambassador Young. Young’s Ambassadorship ended on August 14 of that year.²² Andrew Young’s termination sent shockwaves throughout Black political organizations, and reinforced fears about challenging the Zionist movement and its institutions – concerns that began with the undermining of SNCC in 1967.

Later, the U.S. government used McCarthy-era anti-communist legislation to try to deport Palestinian activists and their supporters. In the most egregious episode, which became known as the LA 8 case,

the government arrested eight people in January 1987 on charges of being linked to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). They were charged under the McCarran-Walter Act, legislation dating back to 1952 which allowed for the deportation of any individuals who were affiliated with organizations which “advocated the doctrines of world Communism.” The government claimed that two of the activists, Michel Shehadeh and Khader Hamide, had circulated literature and given presentations calling for a Palestinian state. In 1989, a Federal judge had declared the charges under McCarran-Walter unconstitutional – fully 37 years after the legislation had originally been written and passed. This incident illuminates the thread of anti-communism, counterintelligence, and legal persecution which the government has used to crack down on political activity since the First World War.²³ Later, the government sought to apply so-called material support statutes in its prosecution of Shehadeh and Hamide, claiming that they had made donations to social services centers linked to the PFLP. This, too, was eventually defeated in court twenty years later, but foreshadowed later attempts to link protected political activity to what the government describes as terrorism.

Central to contemporary efforts have been the so-called terror lists. As attorney Charlotte Kates has argued, the accusation of terror is linked to a longer project of criminalizing Palestinian organizing in the United States, particularly Palestinian left organizing. But the project took on a sharper edge in 1995 and 1996 when, as part of the Oslo process, the U.S. State Department made lists of Foreign Terrorist Organizations. As Kates notes,

When the FTO lists were initially created — the first creating financial, the second criminal, penalties for “material support” of the banned organizations — the parties associated with the Palestinian left, most notably the PFLP, were named, no doubt related to those groups’ criticism of the Oslo process and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority.

Those lists have made it extremely difficult for Arab and Muslim communities to keep connections to ongoing struggles in their homelands, with “material support to a range of politically active groups punishable by lengthy prison sentences.”²⁴ As David Cole goes on to observe, if such legislation had been on the books in the 1980s, “thousands of Americans who donated money to the African National Congress (ANC) for its lawful political struggle against apartheid would face lengthy prison terms, because during those years the ANC was designated as a terrorist organization by our State Department.”²⁵

While the U.S. government took on the task of criminalizing what had previously been entirely protected speech, the ADL took on the parallel task of illegal spying on civil society organizations and activists, especially those supporting the Palestinian struggle.

Indeed, just as McCarthy-era legislation was later used to suppress Palestinian activism in the United States, Zionist institutions began spying on the U.S. population as early as the 1930s, supported by strong elite-provoked anti-communist sentiment. The ADL began by carrying out surveillance against movement organizations like the National Lawyers Guild, reporting their activities to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. They ramped up their activities during the McCarthy era, as the ADL became a proxy for the U.S. government, working as a private spy agency, feeding information to the FBI. The ADL’s monitoring of popular organizations continued after the McCarthy period, showing the continuities in its use as a tool of U.S. government repression. That surveillance has included spying on the Black freedom movement, including Martin Luther King, Jr., anti-apartheid activists, and organizers for Palestinian rights.

In 1993, the San Francisco District Attorney investigated the ADL for collecting confidential information on nearly 1400 activists and at least 700 organizations. The investigation showed that the ADL had helped surveil over 1000 social justice and human rights organizations, including those opposing apartheid, the United Farm Workers, the Vanguard Public Foundation, the San Francisco Labor Council/AFL-CIO, NAACP, MADRE, Greenpeace, and the Center for Constitutional Rights. Furthermore, based on information gathered through a privately contracted investigator, the ADL had

in fact supplied confidential information to foreign governments, including Israel and South Africa, which it had obtained from police and federal agents in the U.S. Over a 40-year period, that private investigator hired by the JDL also independently received money from a South African intelligence agent to provide information on South African exiles and anti-Apartheid activists to the white South African Apartheid government.²⁶

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1985

Middle East Scholars Upset by a List

By COLIN CAMPBELL

An association of Middle East scholars is calling on the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to disown a list of names implying that some American academics are "pro-Arab propagandists" who "use their anti-Zionism as a guise for their deeply felt anti-Semitism."

The Middle East Studies Association is preparing to publish a resolution calling on the league to disown the document. The list, stamped "confidential," was mailed to several dozen campus Jewish leaders in November 1983 from the Anti-Defamation League's New England office.

The resolution was passed Nov. 30 at the association's annual meeting after the group received complaints that the 16-page document defamed teachers, students and researchers.

Jeffrey Ross, the league's national director of campus affairs in New York, has since informed the Middle East Studies Association that the document was an "unfortunate incident" that would not be repeated.

The document was prepared by an "overly zealous student volunteer" who no longer works for the league, and it contained "sloppy wording," Mr. Ross wrote Dec. 20 to the Middle East association's board of directors, whose secretariat is in Tucson, Ariz. Mr. Ross's letter is to be published with the resolution of protest in the February issue of the association's newsletter.

From Boston, Leonard Zakim, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League's New England office, agreed that the document had been careless. He added that he would not have written a cover letter for it if he had considered the matter thoroughly.

Mr. Zakim introduced his cover letter with a reference to "alarming increases in anti-Semitic incidents and anti-Israel propaganda" and then attached the list.

Groups and Individuals Linked

The document listed Arab, Iranian, Islamic and other organizations, including groups associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization and similar military groups, together with dozens of individuals. Among them were Prof. Michael C. Hudson of Georgetown University; former Senator James Abourezk; Prof. Edward W. Said of Columbia University; Dr. Lawrence O. Michalak, deputy director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of California in Berkeley, and former Representative Pete McCloskey.

Mr. Zakim noted in a postscript to his cover letter that "this booklet should be considered confidential" because "it easily could be misconstrued."

In an interview at the Anti-Defamation League's office at 345 E. 46th Street, Mr. Ross emphasized that the league would continue to collect and disseminate information on anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activities. He

said that he hoped the league would develop more cordial relations with the Middle East Studies Association, but that he wished the association would be more even-handed in condemning threats to academic freedom.

"In the spirit of their resolution," Mr. Ross said, "we would call upon them to condemn several Arab countries whose visa restrictions prevent Jewish scholars from pursuing research in those countries."

Association Has 1,400 Members

The Middle East Studies Association, whose name was not included on the confidential list, has 1,400 members, more than half of them academics, according to the group's executive secretary, Prof. Michael E. Bonine, a geographer at the University of Arizona.

Last November's resolution also called on the American Israel Public Affairs Committee to "disavow and refrain from" soliciting "unbalanced information on students, faculty and other parties on American university campuses through a 'Survey of Political Activism.'"

Two years ago, Professor Bonine said, the committee sent a detailed questionnaire to some Jewish campus leaders that appeared to ask about the activities of individual scholars.

The resolution protested "the creation, storage or dissemination of blacklists, 'enemy lists' or surveys that call for boycotting individuals" or intimidating scholars.

In a letter to the association Dec. 20, Arthur D. Chotin, the committee's deputy executive director and general counsel, took strong exception to the assertion that the group had engaged in such activities.

Mr. Chotin said yesterday from Washington that the survey in question was only a draft and was sent to a small number of Jewish campus leaders for their comments. The draft had elicited a lot of unwanted information on individuals, Mr. Chotin said, and was revised to elicit information on anti-Israeli organizations. This revised survey was used in preparing "The AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus."

The guide discussed such campus organizations as the Muslim Students Association, which Mr. Chotin said has distributed the fraudulent anti-Semitic document, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

SPECIFIC ROLE OF THE U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP IN REPRESSION, RACISM AND BACKLASH

Israel has more than 300 Homeland Security (HLS) companies exporting a range of products, systems and services. These solutions have been born by the necessity of Israel's survival and matured by the reality of the continual terrorist threat to the country....No other country has such a large pool of experienced former security, military and police personnel and no other country has been able to field test its systems and solutions in real-time situations.
~The Israel Export & International Cooperation Institute²⁷

The ADL's role in domestic spying and repression is a small piece of the larger Israeli and Zionist machine of repressing dissent, surveilling resistance movements, and repressing popular movements around the world.²⁸ This is one of the central components of the U.S.-Israeli "Special Relationship." And it has consequences which play out in the U.S. domestic sphere as well as severe consequences for Palestine and for its neighbors. Those effects range from the Israeli role in building important parts of the technological infrastructure upon which the National Security Agency (NSA) relies, to intelligence sharing between the NSA and the Israeli government, and on to the Israeli training of U.S. police forces – contributing to a pre-existing trend of militarization of U.S. police forces.²⁹ And amidst it all are organizations like the ADL, facilitating the entire process, brokering links, and ensuring that machineries and techniques of repression intermingle and are endlessly shared.³⁰

Through these operations **we can trace the money trail to reveal the shared interests of the U.S. government, the Israeli government, Zionist organizations, and members of the elite in promoting backlash on campuses and communities and in provoking Islamophobia.** Because, ultimately, reaction against Palestine organizing is part of the larger goal of making sure that no forces can arise on campuses or elsewhere which can possibly interfere with U.S. and Israeli government and corporate efforts to increase their power and profit. They are tightly tied to the broader Israeli and U.S. scheme for control of the region. Indeed, by now the state of Israel, along with Saudi Arabia and Qatar, is a junior partner in the U.S. strategy for regional dominance.³¹ For Israel, this has meant vast economic, political and military support and investment by the U.S., Canada, and Europe for the maintenance and expansion of a heavily militarized settler-colonial state in Palestine. For its Western allies and their local Arab partners, it has meant continued control over what Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration once described as the "greatest prize in human history" – Arab oil, and the profits to be derived from its sale.³²



The continued and arguably mounting importance of Israel to the U.S. is a reflection of the growing significance of the oil trade and the arms trade to U.S. corporations and the government, including the banks which recycle the dollars secured from oil and weapon sales.³³ It follows that the United States, the main broker of global power, is Israel's largest funder. The majority of U.S. aid to Israel is in the form of military assistance. The U.S. gives Israel approximately \$3 billion per year in military aid and several billion more per year in military assistance and contracts.³⁴ By law, seventy-five percent of those military grants immediately cycle back to the U.S. arms industrial base. In that sense, U.S. "aid" to Israel is a way of transferring money through Israel back to U.S. weapons manufacturers. This is a profitable arrangement, and a long-standing one: the U.S. provides 18 percent or nearly a fifth of Israel's military budget.³⁵ From 1949 until 2011, the estimated cumulative total in U.S. direct aid to Israel is between \$115 and 123 billion.³⁶ Such "aid" also ensures the creation of a regional arms race, to which the U.S. is the major supplier and in turn from which it profits greatly.

In 2009 Israel's military spending accounted for 15.1 percent of the country's overall budget. It was the biggest defense spender as a percentage of GDP. It also spent the greatest amount of its overall budget on the military out of all developed countries. Israel uses U.S. aid to fund its ongoing occupation of Palestine and Syrian and Lebanese lands, and its military campaigns, which in turn serve as a laboratory to develop weapons, surveillance technology, and tactics of population control that are marketed across the globe. Furthermore, militarization in Israel ensures that other regional states spend a great portion of their own resources on defense instead of social development.³⁷ And finally, Israeli military spending funnels resources and capital to the Israeli military elite and owners of the corporations which control the Israeli defense industry.³⁸

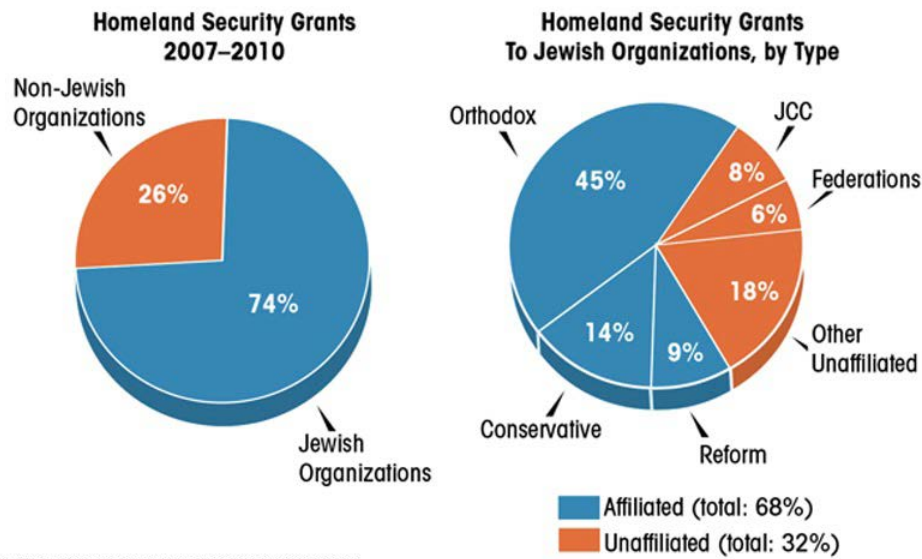


One means of protecting this arrangement is the ways in which the U.S. government and Zionist organizations help each other in the name of a supposed threat to Jewish safety – the rise of a “new antisemitism.” By misusing the history of discrimination and genocide against Jewish people, Zionist organizations claim to be defending Jewish populations against racism in the form of this new Jew-hatred – which is, in reality, opposition to Israeli government policies, grounded in anti-racist politics. In turn, the U.S. government encourages and funds Zionist groups to contribute to the Islamophobia industry, fabricating a mass hysteria around Muslims. That culture of racism benefits U.S. foreign policy by creating a domestic atmosphere within which the population can easily be coerced into wars against Muslim peoples who have already been demonized by non-stop racist propaganda. The funding flows reveal this pattern with stark clarity.

Since 2005, the Department of Homeland Security has provided “anti-terrorist” funding to large numbers of U.S.-based non-profit organizations (NGOs), to involve them in identifying and preventing “terrorist” activities. They are involved in propaganda campaigns such as “If you see something, say something,” implicitly or explicitly profiling Muslim people, organizations and religious institutions. Of the funds given to NGOs specifically for this purpose, Jewish Zionist organizations receive between 80 and 97 percent. In 2008, for example, \$19 million out of \$25 million went to these organizations. In 2011 it was \$15 out of \$19 million. And in 2014, \$12 million out of \$13 million.³⁹ The \$13 million distributed in June 2014 brings to a total of \$151 million the amount given out since the program started in 2005. The lead lobbyists to channel the flow of funds are the Jewish Federations of North America, the Orthodox Union, and Agudath Israel of America. In a statement, the JNFA thanked the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, Jeh Johnson, as well as lawmakers, for making sure the funds arrived in the hands of those institutions.⁴⁰

Zionist institutions play a central role in managing this flow and ensuring that it remains steady. Furthermore, they play an important part in making sure the government of Israel contributes to the cause. For example, the *American Israel Public Affairs Committee*,⁴¹ *Zionist Organization of America*⁴² and *Aish Hatorah International*⁴³ promoted, distributed and/or provided funding for several virulently anti-Muslim, anti-Arab racist films created by the Clarion Project in collaboration with Israel's Likud party officials⁴⁴ and supported by U.S. government officials.⁴⁵

Private donors also contribute heavily to this effort. The resources of at least eleven major donors flow to intermediary organizations, which then go on to fund dozens of other organizations and media outlets. Their primary goal is censoring or otherwise stopping criticism of Israel, and also stopping the growing support for the Palestinian movement. As Elly Bulkin and Donna Nevel document, more than \$42.5 million flows from several funders to a very influential circle of Islamophobia misinformation “experts” and their organizations – who are also some of the most ardent and reactionary supporters of Israel.⁴⁶ One example is *Frank Gaffney*, a former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense, who sees mosques as part of attempts to impose “Sharia law” in the United States.⁴⁷ He is a “contributing expert” to the Ariel Center for Applied Research, an Israeli research institute that reflects the hardline Likud position



on Israeli security. Another is *Daniel Pipes*, who focuses on the “threat” of “lawful Islam” in the West.⁴⁸ His organization, Middle East Forum, as well as the Campus Watch project, *promotes* student monitoring of professors on their campus for their *views* on “the Arab-Israeli conflict” and other topics to ensure that they are not critical of Israel.⁴⁹ The Zionist foundation, *The Clarion Project*, and close collaborating organization, *Endowment for Middle East Truth (EMET)*, have both Gaffney and Pipes on their advisory boards.⁵⁰

These groups and individuals not only play a key role in promoting anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism through the media but promote explicitly pro-Israel, pro-U.S. empire policies and propaganda – linking the security of the U.S. and Israel to militarization, war, and domestic policies attacking Muslim and Arab organizations, individuals and religious centers. They provide *government* officials with “*facts*” that support domestic spying, profiling of Muslims and foreign sanctions and military and political interventions.⁵¹ In turn, they increase their influence, credibility, and ability to rake in funding from the government and private funders through publicizing the “invaluable” service they provide to congressional committees and homeland security personnel. They also help provide a very useful framework for reactionaries within and outside government who are unequivocal supporters both of U.S. intervention in majority-Muslim countries and of hardline pro-Israel policies.

Leveraging Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab Racism – Islamophobia

Given the centrality of Islamophobia to U.S. imperialism and capitalism, Zionist institutions have sought to incubate Islamophobic ideologues in the places which matter most to the continuity of the propaganda system – the public and private elite universities from which the future leaders of the U.S. government, corporations, and large non-profits will emerge. The resources go into building strong groups of future leaders who will be committed to the shared interests of Israel, the U.S., and global capital. The idea is that they will eventually flow into institutes, think tanks, departments, and internships whose production of information and attempts to censor and discredit opposition and policy work support these interests.

They also attack those institutes, departments, and professors, and think tanks that threaten those interests – particularly Middle East Studies programs with Palestinians and pro-Palestine scholarship and faculty, or which is critical of U.S. foreign policy in the region. This is the case for Middle East Studies departments less because they are a source of radical agitation, and more to try to force them to toe the line and fight constant defensive struggles merely to tell the truth about the historical and

ongoing U.S. role in the region. The flipside of this coin has been the pressuring of these programs to include faculty and content which presents Zionism and U.S. interests in the region in a favorable light, and force the inclusion of Israeli Studies and pro-Israel scholars into Middle East Studies programs.

Furthermore, Zionist institutions are aware of the role played by universities in the anti-war movements of the 1960s as well as the movement against South African apartheid. University students have played a leading edge in many recent social struggles. They are perceived as a threat to the powers-that-be, especially given the rising activity around BDS on college campuses. And so it must be kept in mind that reactionary forces use Islamophobia not just to attack organizers on campus, but also to threaten ethnic studies programs in various universities across the country. Their goal is to prevent university students from accessing knowledge that would help connect them historically and politically to previous generations of students in struggle.

Finally, then, pro-Zionist propagandists use Islamophobia to shut down freedom of expression on campus. Indeed, the repression network has played a constant role in shrinking the space for freedom of inquiry, attempting to steadily gut or shrink the places within which students may express opposition to domestic repression and foreign wars.

Where criminal prosecution of students for non-violent, direct action once seemed unlikely, given rising Islamophobia, Muslim and Palestinian students are facing not only repression at the hands of the university administration but also local and federal police and criminal justice forces. The case of the Irvine 11 in February 2010, following the 2008/2009 massacre in the Gaza Strip, when eleven students disrupted the speech of then-Ambassador of Israel to the United States Michael Oren and subsequently faced felony charges for it, is one crucial example. That prosecution probably would not have been possible had the students been of a different ancestry or had a different religious and racial affiliation. Though of less legal consequence, a vicious smear campaign against a University of Michigan student, accusing him of being “overtly threatening” for jamming a knife into a pineapple, got traction on right-wing websites funded by the donors referenced above.⁵²

Criminalizing Palestinian Activists

The targeting of Muslim and Palestinian students on campus follows from the long history of violence and criminalization of Palestinian organizers off-campus as well as their allies. In these cases, although the propaganda machine operates in the same way at it does against those on campuses, the state generally takes on a much more aggressive role in disciplining them.

The example of the LA 8 in the section above is one important illustration. One of many recent examples is the prosecution of Rasmea Odeh.⁵³ The state has charged her with failing to disclose on her naturalization application that the Israeli state had extracted a confession from her under torture including brutal rape, highlighting the punitive ways the U.S. government operates against those whom it deems vulnerable or those who are most effective in their organizing, by subjecting them to the most aggressive prosecuting practices. The State of Israel and the U.S. government share a vendetta against her for the consistency and effectiveness of her life of activism on behalf of the Palestinian struggle and Arab communities in Chicago and more broadly.⁵⁴ She was one of the first Palestinian women to publicly speak out against the use of rape as a form of torture by the Israeli military. She is also the Associate Director of

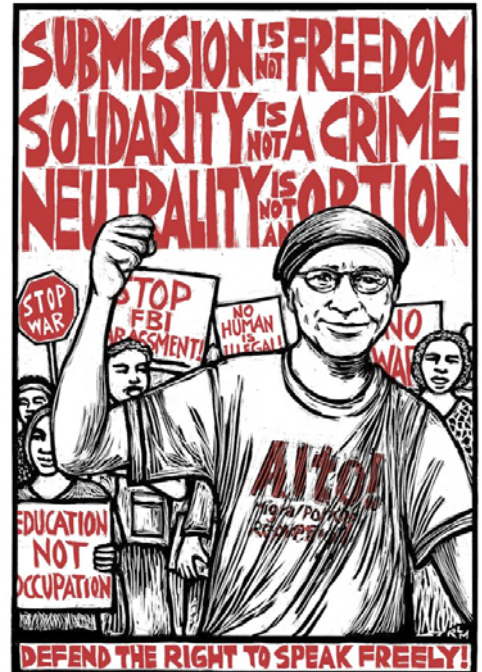


the Arab American Action Network in Chicago – whose director is Hatem Abudayyeh. Abudayyeh was similarly targeted with twenty-two other activists in Minneapolis and Chicago by the U.S. government for his activism on Palestine.

Rasmea Odeh's arrest came three years after the FBI raids on the 23 Midwest anti-war activists. All refused to cooperate with an investigation that accused them of violating "material support" for terrorism laws (see the section on "material support" on pages 70-71). Questions have been raised as to the connection between the targeting of Rasmea and the attempt to charge Abudayyeh and the other activists – including questions about government retaliation for non-cooperation.⁵⁵ Rasmea Odeh's case highlights the sharing of surveillance information between the U.S. and Israeli governments, including information gathering directed against U.S. citizens and residents.

It also shows the long history of the U.S. National Security Administration's practice of spying on Palestinian activists.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Zionist backlash organizations such as the Central Fund of Israel has been active in supporting the U.S. government prosecution and persecution of Rasmea Odeh through funding the work of Shurat HaDin (the Israel Law Center). As journalist Charlotte Silvers writes, "In trying to defang her defense, the [Shurat HaDin] said that the US attorney's office ran into heavy red tape trying to get the ... [Israeli army] Archives Division to supply it, in timely fashion, with documents proving Odeh's identity and conviction, in Israel's Judea and Samaria [occupied West Bank] courts, for her hand in the bombing. Using its own connections, Shurat HaDin was able to get the relevant documents."

As these examples highlight, the line between the role of state violence, which is permitted against community activists, and the role of non-state institutions such as the Zionist think-tanks, advocates, and media operatives is often blurred. Each support the other. The atmosphere of Islamophobia which government and non-government organizations alike conjured up in intensified form in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks created space for the government to launch baseless prosecutions and bend the law to its needs. And furthermore, state action always occurs against the background of popular opinion and a measure of popular consent.



THE REUT INSTITUTE: THE OVERARCHING FRAMEWORK FOR BACKLASH STRATEGY

Faced with [the] potentially existential threat [of the Delegitimization Network], Israel must treat it as such by focusing its intelligence agencies on this challenge; allocating appropriate resources; developing new knowledge, designing a strategy, executing it; and debriefing itself.
~Reut Institute, “The Delegitimization Challenge”

Influencing popular opinion and gaining public consent for the prosecution of Palestinian community leaders and the targeting of Palestinian students, activists, faculty and their allies is the work of the backlash network. That includes the plan of the Jewish Agency for Israel to combine donor dollars from the United States with Israeli government funds in order to set in place what will perhaps be the most expensive and expansive pro-Israel campaign ever. They imagine \$300 million to be spent annually on pro-Israel efforts in the United States, as well as in other parts of the world.⁵⁷ Included in that proposal is \$100 million from the State of Israel, with the remainder – \$200 million – coming from U.S. donors, including the Jewish Federation of North America (JFNA).⁵⁸ The JFNA received \$8-\$10 million in direct funding from the U.S. government, and distributes hundreds of millions more in government pass-through funds to other Jewish organizations.



The hundreds of millions poured into countering pro-Palestinian work on campuses and in communities is a substantial expansion of recent campaigns by the Israel Action Network, which launched in 2010 with \$6 million dollars. The Network was created to counter what the Reut Institute, an Israeli think-tank, describes as the “Delegitimization Challenge,” in their 2010 report surveying the landscape of foreign and domestic opposition to Israeli colonial practices.⁵⁹ The report identifies Israel’s main challenge as an “increasingly harsh criticism around the world, resulting in an erosion of its international image, and exacting a tangible strategic price.” The report describes a two-sided attack that has made Israel increasingly vulnerable.

One part is what the report calls “the Resistance Network,” namely “Middle East-based individuals, nations, and organizations which reject Israel’s right to exist.”⁶⁰ They are grounded in “Islamist” or Arab nationalist ideology, and are under the leadership of Iran, Hezbollah, and Hamas. Part two it describes as the “Delegitimization Network,” namely people in Western countries opposed to Israeli racism and its role in advancing U.S. interests in the region. The report describes the aim of the Delegitimization Network

as superseding “the Zionist model with a state that is based on the ‘one person, one vote’ principle.”⁶¹ The report is another example of the shared interests of the pro-Israel, pro-U.S. foreign policy, Zionist, and Islamophobia networks, and the policies and propaganda they drive and from which they benefit.

Faced with what it calls an existential threat, the Reut report advises Israel and its supporters to counteract it by focusing its intelligence agencies – its repression apparatus – on this challenge: allocating appropriate resources, developing new knowledge, designing a strategy, and executing it. In essence, the report suggests that the repression used against Palestinian resistance be turned into tools that can successfully repress this “Network.” As the report notes, “In order to effectively face the Delegitimization Network, Israel must embrace a network-based logic and response,” one focused on the “hubs of **delegitimization**—such as London, Paris, Toronto, Madrid, and the Bay Area,” and on “undermining its catalysts.”⁶² These “catalysts” are, according to Reut and other

Zionist organizations, performing a crucial role. They are activists, intellectuals and organizations that advance the Palestinian struggle – “units of the network that dedicate themselves to its cause by mobilizing financial and human resources, collecting information and turning it into knowledge, and developing the ideology.” Undermining these “catalysts” means publicly denouncing them, seeking to deprive them of their livelihoods and audience, and trying to prosecute or deport them. “*Isolate the delegitimizers*” is the slogan of this effort.⁶³

More broadly, these attacks take the form of introducing legislation to censor and repress criticisms of Israel, misusing policies and laws meant to protect struggles for civil rights and against repression and injustice against the Palestinian and other anti-racist, anti-colonial movements, threats to the funding of community and cultural organizations that extend solidarity to Palestine, and the infiltration and co-optation of movements for justice. In order to implement this wide-reaching strategy, the Reut Institute has called for the cultivation of its own network of hubs and catalysts.

This is the work of the backlash network and the investments which major donors and foundations make as they monetarily support smaller catalysts and hubs to counter-attack the growing “Delegitimization Network.” Those are chiefly individuals, organizations, institutes and a right-wing media apparatus which amplifies Zionist disinformation and propaganda, including paid student propagandists who receive media training from Zionist institutions. In concert, these forces try to undermine the Palestinian liberation movement and all movements with which it shares common cause.

The Reut Institute has identified labor and campuses as central sites of potential “delegitimization,” and has begun to invest its time, resources, and attention accordingly. The centrality of campuses is obvious: student groups are playing a leading role exposing Israeli propaganda and misinformation, and are beginning to take concrete action in support of the call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions. Furthermore, the students of today, as Zionist institutions have noted, are the leaders of tomorrow. Ensuring that future leadership holds the line on firm support for Israeli colonialism is crucial to ensuring the integrity and further advancement of that project.

Control of students also calls for control over what material they are able to think with, which is why Zionist institutions have been at the forefront of policing what professors can and cannot say and teach to their students. For that reason, the battle over free speech on campuses as well as academic freedom for students and professors alike has profound implications for how the current generation of young people understand the Middle East and are able to act upon it, and more importantly, how future leaders will relate to U.S. policy towards the region given its centrality to the U.S. economy and its elite. For that reason, the backlash catalysts – individuals, organizations, think tanks and media – regularly attack as subjective and biased professors who offer academic or scholarly histories and conclusions at odds with those which support the pro-Israeli, pro-U.S. foreign policy narrative.

A project founded in 2004, the national Israel Campus Coalition (ICC), was a pre-cursor to the latest wave of campus surveillance organizations. The ICC is a national network of students, faculty and professionals dedicated to combating BDS campaigns, tracking pro-Palestinian (“anti-Israel”) organizing on campus, and coordinating an early warning system to alert campus constituents and national partners about anti-Israel activity.⁶⁴

As the Reut Institute acknowledges, labor has also historically been an important site of struggle for progressive activism and solidarity movements. Previous generations of Zionist activism have ensured that so far, the U.S. labor movement remains largely separate from the growing movement to boycott Israel – quite unlike the situation in other countries where the labor movement has taken a far firmer line, not least Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The precedent is significant, for such institutions are equally aware of the crucial role played historically by trade unionists against South African apartheid. Reut is inescapably aware of these facts. Indeed, they confirm the effectiveness of previous efforts to bring down colonial regimes. As Reut summarizes the activities of the Delegitimization Network, they observe that it “ceaselessly equates Israel with apartheid South

Africa as constituting two regimes based on discrimination and repression.” As they go on to note, “Once Israel is successfully branded as violent, aggressive, discriminatory, and occupying...the entire political and economic model of Israel is framed as immoral.”

Reut goes on to repeat the claim made by this network: that “both cases” – Israel and South Africa – involve a “foreign minority,” one that is “in both cases white, rich, and powerful – that took control of land belonging to local indigenous populations,” dispossessing them of their property and land and exploiting their labor “while employing brute force” – as we have noted, also a historical claim of the South African and Palestinian liberation movements. Continuing, the Reut Report observes, this



comparison serves as the basis for a similar campaign: “Same problem, same solution,” namely that what worked in bringing down “white South Africa in 1994” will work equally well in the case of Israel,” in that a movement for BDS will push “leading nations” to implement policies that will cause the Israeli “political and economic model” to collapse, and thereupon surrender to the democratic principle of “one person, one vote.” As the report concludes, these escalating dynamics may pose an “existential threat,” having in the past brought down “militarily powerful nations,” with some of them even possessing nuclear weapons. As the Report admits, “given the significant strides they have made against Israel, the Resistance Network and Israel’s delegitimizers are increasingly emboldened.”

This targeted repression of the Palestinian community in the U.S. also has another purpose. It is intended to cause a *split* between the so-called “Resistance Network” and “Delegitimizers.” The goal is to cause organizers to adopt more and more liberal-reformist discourses and frameworks, in order to separate them from the radical edge of the struggle within Palestine or in the Arab and Muslim worlds more broadly. It is also meant to push the “Delegitimizers” away from defending the anti-colonial, anti-Zionist claims of the “Resistance Network,” and to bully them into breaking any and all ties with those at the beating heart of the struggle in Palestine and elsewhere.

More broadly, they describe their strategy of separating those who are considered to be engaging in “delegitimization” of a Jewish state in Palestine from those whose critiques and organizing may target Israeli state policy and practice and lift up the human rights of Palestinians, but doesn’t question the idea or fact of a Jewish state in Palestine. These donors and particularly these **intermediaries** will even fund organizations critical of the State of Israel or who do not take a strong stance in support of Israel as long as they do not call for or organize toward an end to a Jewish state in Palestine or the right of return for Palestinian refugees – as long as they do not pose an “existential threat” to Israel. For example, the donor-advised fund, Jewish Communal Fund, puts money into Zionist backlash and Islamophobic projects, but it also funds Bend the Arc – a Jewish organization that identifies as anti-racist but avoids taking a public stance on Palestine (\$99,558 in 2014) – and J-Street, despite its argument for a more “humane” Israeli occupation of Palestine (\$68,500 in 2014). Another donor-advised fund, the Jewish Community Foundation of LA funded both Bend the Arc (\$16,000 in 2011, \$9,000 in 2012) and J-Street (\$9,400 in 2012). Zionist, Islamophobia and backlash funders, the Russell Berrie Foundation and Shusterman Family Foundation gave to Bend the Arc in 2009.

Because the backlash network sees those engaging in “delegitimization” as a distinct threat, it especially targets anyone using symbols of anti-colonial politics. It also attempts to draw negative attention to academic delegations’ meetings with individuals like Leila Khaled, a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine who hijacked a plane in 1969 as an expression of Palestinian resistance. The goal is not merely direct intimidation. It is also to make other organizers think twice before engaging in any way, shape, or form with the icons or symbols of the anti-colonial struggle, thereby slowly trying to push potentially radical activism into forms more acceptable to the U.S. and Israeli governments, as well as the ruling elite who benefit from the access to resources and profit that both make possible.

Efforts to marginalize certain kinds of activism are tied to the role university administrators are urged to play in the anti-Palestinian movement. First, they frequently set the parameters of civility, since, often, the line between “civil” and “uncivil” is political rather than self-evident. Civility has become a way to censor speech, especially that with an anti-colonial edge, which certain interests would prefer not occur. Administrators also have the final say in deciding when violence may be used against campus activists – as when police assaulted a student at Cornell University at a pro-Palestine rally, with impunity from the university administration. And all of this is linked to university administrators’ constant need to curry favor and donations from major donors. Many donors funding Islamophobic think-tanks and Zionist backlash make major gifts to dozens of universities, and use their influence to make every effort to ensure that pro-Palestine speech and action gets censored.

The recent firing of University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign professor Steven Salaita for allegedly “uncivil” tweets during the latest Israel assault on the Gaza Strip, when the Israeli forces killed over 2100 people, is simply the latest example of this trend. **What these trends also show is that relying solely on doctrines of free speech and academic freedom to protect the right of professors, students and activists alike to speak may be an inadequate defense. The regulation of which types of speech are permitted and from whom is linked to the broader political climate.** The Islamophobia and pro-Israel lobbies seek to maintain a climate in which speech that challenges racism against Muslims, Palestinians and other Arabs and support for the colonization and occupation of Palestine is seen as illegitimate and therefore undeserving of first amendment protections.

As has always been the case, the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement is tasked not only with defending their right to free speech, but asserting the facts and narratives of the Palestinian struggle for justice against the well-resourced, long-standing pro-Israel propaganda designed to erase or otherwise discredit this history. Thus the fight for free speech in defense of Palestine requires forcing open spaces to speak and act and then using fights for free speech to challenge the racism and repression at the root of the struggle itself. In other words, the fight for free speech is explicitly a fight for the right of people to take action against the injustice they face or are part of fighting against and not a fight simply for a legal right.

Such bottom-up strategies contrast with the anti-Palestinian lobby’s consistently top-down approach, seeking to build links not with grassroots constituencies through persuasion or mutual interest, but rather seeking to enfold elites into the broader pro-Israel alliance. As the Reut Institute openly admits, they have no prospects or interest in influencing grassroots movements or involving them in broader decision-making processes. As their report states, their strategy is “relationship-based diplomacy with elites,” and especially winning their “hearts and minds,” given that elites are those with “influence, leadership, and authority.” This, in the eyes of the Reut report’s writers, is the central “battleground between Israel and its foes.” Relationships should be “personal,” and there should be “thousands” of them, with “political, financial, cultural, media, and security-related elites, particularly in the hub,” meaning core cities and cultural centers of solidarity with Palestine.

The Reut report considers relational diplomacy with elites to be the most “effective barrier” against the spread of delegitimization, and so calls for these links in “every delegitimization hub.” The key is to find ways to “generate an ability to relate to Israel.” This is both a non-state and state process. The report considers central the task of “strengthening Israeli diplomats and embassies in hubs.” For example, a hub such as London, they contend, should have at least “ten diplomats exclusively contending” with the rising challenge, and diplomats ought to be vetted for their ability to “cultivate relationships with...elites.” As seen in many of the cases below, local Israeli embassy diplomats and staff have attempted to actively weigh in on student senate hearings and votes, votes of food co-operatives on de-shelving Israeli goods, and discussions about worker solidarity at union committee meetings. This is a very different focus than a grassroots joint struggle, and reflects the top-down and elitist orientation of the Reut report and its funders, where ideology, tactics, money, and pressure flows from rich individuals, foundations, and governments to those willing to partake, if not actively lead, the process of backlash and the pushing of a pro-Israel agenda.

THE LANDSCAPE OF DONOR AND FOUNDATION-FUNDED REPRESSION & DISINFORMATION

*“What we need to do is snarl, not be nice. What we need to do is inspire fear, not affection.”
~ Daniel Pipes*

It is almost unknown that eleven major donors, routing their capital through an array of foundations, fund nearly the entire network of “hubs and catalysts” of anti-Palestinian backlash in the United States. As already stated, many of them also fund the Islamophobia network. **Perhaps even less known is that among these eleven donors are some of the most significant funders behind the conservative movement and the causes it holds dear.** They fund global warming denial, opposition to clean water and air acts and protection of endangered species, anti-abortion activism, anti-gay and transgender rights initiatives, efforts to block immigration reform and more permissive immigration policies, and the attempts to gut social security and government-provided health care known as “reform.” They also seek to undermine gains made by the women’s movement, gains which have benefited grassroots women and families. And they support various other conservative campaigns that seek to roll back decades of hard-fought social progress in the United States – the victories of popular movements that have fought for a more humane society.

In addition to giving directly to backlash and Zionist organizations, the Islamophobia network, and other reactionary groups and causes, the donors also distribute their funds through intermediary foundations. These “intermediaries” cover up some of the causes, organizations, and media outlets that these donors give funding to and who surely benefit from various tax deductions that come from investing in diverse vehicles for giving. The structure of foundations and donor giving is intentionally obscure, to allow for the greatest benefit possible to donors. Another function of the intermediaries, particularly “community foundations” such as the Jewish Communal Fund of New York and the Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles as well as the Jewish Federation, is that they give the appearance of grassroots funding and broader grassroots support for backlash activity and groups.

The examples of the relationships between the eleven major donors and the intermediaries listed below is illustrative, not exhaustive. In many examples, the major donors give through some or many of the intermediaries in addition to their own foundations, not to mention direct individual contributions to political candidates, campaigns, and organizations. In other examples, the intermediaries do not receive funds from the major donors identified in this report but from other major donors whose money they, in turn, give to groups that target the Palestinian struggle and participate in the Islamophobia network. The purpose of the information below is to illustrate the money moving from these eleven major donors into backlash and Islamophobia through their own foundations and intermediaries – particularly donor advised funds – and going into backlash and Islamophobia from these “anonymizers.” By its nature, the role of these donor-advised funds is to obscure which donors give to them and where their funds are distributed. For example, despite an exhaustive search, we have been unable to find the sources of income for the Jewish Communal Fund though they have a very large base of assets and give significantly to backlash and Islamophobia. Regardless, the role they play is very well documented.

Note on Jewish Charities and funding of pro-Israel advocacy

In total, the Jewish charity industry clocks in at \$26 billion in net assets, with its primary funding support going toward advocacy for Israel, followed by education, culture and community, and finally social services. Because religious institutions claim an exemption and therefore are not required to file their financial information publicly, this means there is no way to track how much synagogues and other religious institutions receive in foundation funding from the Jewish charity network.⁶⁵ This

makes the actual total – based on a study of the 3,600 Jewish charity organizations that filed tax returns – even higher, adding at least \$1 billion to the total and likely more.⁶⁶

According to Josh Nathan-Kazis's 2014 report in the *Jewish Daily Forward* titled “26 Billion Bucks. The Jewish Charity Industry Uncovered. Part I - Donors give more to Israel than to Education,” of the \$3.7 billion in donations to intermediaries, 37 percent goes into groups advocating on behalf of Israel, compared to only 20 percent for education.⁶⁷ Nathan-Kazis's report also provided a poll of 200 American Jews, whose data provide a glimpse into the difference between what Jewish charities spend their money on and what American Jews, as individuals, would prioritize. The *Jewish Daily Forward* reports that while 37 percent of the \$3.7 billion goes toward intermediaries that primarily advocate on behalf of Israel, American Jews would prefer that only 17-20 percent go toward Israel.⁶⁸ Though still a significant amount of support for funding of pro-Israel work, American Jews value education higher than Israel, voting for 30 percent of funding to go to education, versus the 22 percent that Jewish charities actually spend on it.

This suggests two points. First, while there is undeniably support amongst American Jews for Israel and for funding pro-Israel work, it is far less sizeable than the impression given by the allocation of resources by Jewish charity organizations. Second, the donors and foundations making these decisions are distorting public perception of American Jewish support for Israel in order to create the illusion that there is unified support for Israel among American Jews.

Substantiating the disconnect between Jewish charity money spent on Israel versus social services that Jewish people actually prioritize, clarifies the distinction between Zionism and Jews. If support of Israel among American Jews isn't as high as elite Jewish donors and foundations make it seem through charity funding, then it follows that support among Jewish people for Islamophobia and backlash against criticism of Israel through the Jewish charity network is also not as high as the backlash and Islamophobia networks make it appear. This contradiction creates vulnerabilities in Israel's long-standing assertion that it represents all or a majority of Jewish people and interests.

PROFILES OF THE 11 MAJOR DONORS TO ZIONIST BACKLASH IN THE UNITED STATES

Newton D. and Rochelle F. Becker Foundation

The **Newton D. and Rochelle F. Becker Foundation**, including the funds they run through the Jewish Community Foundation - LA, has a net worth of over \$548 million. Since 2008, they have donated a total of over \$109 million to Zionist backlash organizations, America For the Jewish Community Foundation LA specifically. Zionist Backlash ranged from 49 to 94 percent of their annual giving each year from 2008 to 2012. They are listed by the Center for American Progress as one of the top seven funders of the Islamophobia network in the U.S.

Investments & Sources of Profit:

Significant portions of the Becker Foundations money come from or are invested in Israel. Other companies and industries it is linked to include bioengineering firms, Amphenol Corp, self-described leader of high performance military and commercial aerospace systems, Air Products and Chemicals, which works in coal gasification, Energen Corp, a major oil company, Questar Corp, a major gas company, and Bear Stearns, a global investments and securities firm that failed in 2008 and has been a flashpoint for the unsustainable economic practices that led to the Great Recession.

Contributions: Since 2010, they distributed over \$4 million, approximately half of which went to funding players in the Zionist backlash network. Specifically, they fund Zionist backlash – such as the Stand With Us, Jewish Community Relations Council, ZOA, the Clarion Project, American Jewish Committee, America Friends of Israeli Missile Defense Association, American-Israel Education Foundation, and the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, Christians United for Israel. They also fund (other) anti-Muslim and anti-Arab organizations, such as the Investigative Project on Terrorism, CAMERA, David Horowitz Freedom Center with his “Jihad Watch” website, ACT! for America,

Honest Reporting/Middle East Media Watch, the Endowment for Middle East Truth and the Israel Project, a pro-Israel, anti-Arab, anti-Muslim “advocacy” group that focuses on influencing journalistic representations of Israel. More broadly it funds general U.S. policy institutes that support war in the Middle East and funding for Israel, such as the Institute for Analysis of Global Security, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and the Investigative Project on Terrorism.

They also fund an array of more broadly conservative organizations including the Hudson Institute, a neoliberal think tank, and Liberty for All, which backs conservative politicians in the U.S.

Intermediaries: The Becker Foundations, including the Jewish Community Foundation LA, also fund the Central Fund of Israel, Jewish Council for Public Affairs, as well as hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Jewish Federation, specifically in San Francisco, Marin, and Los Angeles. They have given a total of over a million dollars over four years to the Middle East Media Research Institute, and contribute to the Middle East Forum, which promotes extreme anti-Muslim and Zionist ideology including its mission to “protect Western values from Middle Eastern threats,” “protect the freedoms of anti-Islamist authors,” “defeat radical Islam,” and “work for Palestinian acceptance of Israel,” and Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (for more on this, see Daniel Pipes in the Intermediaries section). In 2009, the Becker Foundation gave to P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds, which the *Jewish Daily Forward* describes as “the choice for donors who have a pre-existing affinity and want 100% of their donation transferred to an Israeli charity of choice...PEF is a mega-‘friends of’ organization that also manages endowed funds for major donors. The group maintains a list of more than 1,000 Israeli charities that it has determined are eligible to receive American donors’ gifts.”⁶⁹

The Becker Foundation and Jewish Community Foundation LA also fund: International Israel Allies Caucus Foundation, Democracy Council of California, Advancing Human Rights, Internet Development Fund, American Foreign Policy Council, Electric Infrastructure Security, Internet Development Fund, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the American Enterprise Institute Public Policy and the Institute for Analysis of Global Security.

Sarah Scaife Foundation

www.scaife.com/sarah.html

The **Sarah Scaife Foundation** has net assets of over \$270 million. Since 2009, they have given tens of millions to Zionist backlash organizations and Islamophobia, listed as one of the top seven funders of the Islamophobia network.⁷⁰ In addition, they are known as one of the larger funders of a wide variety of conservative and **neo-liberal** organizations.

Investments and sources of profit: The assets of the Scaife foundation are largely invested in or derived from major oil companies – Gulf Oil, ConocoPhillips, Shell International, ExxonMobil – as well as other energy companies, including Nextera Energy and Entergy. They are highly invested in the loans industry, in particular companies that profit from the foreclosure crisis which they created, such as Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp and the Federal Home Loan Bank, which was reorganized in the late 2000s due to its role in the financial crisis. Additionally, Scaife invests or has invested in weapons developers and producers, including Lockheed Martin, and global investment management companies: General Electric Capital and Blackrock Inc. The Scaifes are invested both in Medtronic, involved in medical-biotechnology development, as well as Phillip Morris, the world's leading tobacco company. They also own pieces of Treasury Inflation Protected Securities and U.S. Treasury notes.

Contributions: The Scaife Foundation donates to the Islamophobic and Zionist backlash organizations including the David Horowitz Freedom Center and the Center for Security Policy, whose inflammatory Islamophobia is

illustrated by the “Defeat Jihad Summit” they are holding.

Beyond Zionist backlash and Islamophobia, the Scaife Foundation funds information and “knowledge” production – universities, think tanks, chairs of universities, policy development. They are major contributors to the Heritage Foundation, America's Future Foundation, the Hudson Institute, and other hallmark neo-liberal/conservative institutions. Their strategy is to change the public discourse by obscuring the truth in order to increase their own profit. An example of their neo-liberalism is the contributions they make to the Landmark Legal Fund (Ronald Reagan Legal Center), which goes after teachers' unions and works for the **privatization** of public education. Similarly, they fund the Galen Institute, which is dedicated to promoting private health care policy in opposition to universal or public healthcare, as well as the Citizen's Council for Health Freedom – an “advocacy” group opposed to “Obamacare.” While they rely on the rhetoric of libertarianism for many of their efforts, one grantee, The Center for Individual Rights, orchestrates major attacks on environmental regulations, attacks on affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislation. They also support NSA spying, lack of internet privacy, and counter-terrorism policy that extends government control and state power.

The Scaife Foundation also funds the American Foreign Policy Council, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, the Center for Immigration Studies, Federation for American Immigration Reform, Center for Strategic & Int'l Studies, Citizen's Council for Health Freedom, The Defense Forum Foundation, Freedom Works Foundation, America's Survival, Inc., Human Rights Foundation, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Institute on Religion & Public Life, Judicial Watch, Media Research Center, National Taxpayers Union Foundation, Hoover Institute on War, Revolution & Peace, Tax Foundation, and the World Affairs Council.

Intermediaries: The Scaife Foundation does not fund any of the intermediaries we are highlighting in this report.

Koret Foundation

www.koret.org

The **Koret Foundation** has a net worth of nearly \$165 million. Since 2010, it has distributed over \$64 million to neoliberal and conservative organizations. Millions of this have gone to Zionist/Zionist backlash organizations.

Investments and sources of profit: The wealth of the Koret Foundation was originally amassed in the garment industry – namely sweatshops – in the San Francisco Bay Area, and has since been invested in numerous other industries and enterprises. As of 2012, while they invest in a wide range of domestic stocks – from Discover to Google to Footlocker – they invest most heavily in international stock funds that include “emerging markets.” Emerging markets refer to countries with looser or nonexistent laws concerning labor rights and the environment, which maximizes profits.

Contributions: The Koret Foundation funds an array of Zionist backlash organizations including the Anti-Defamation League (see page 56), the Brandeis Center, Honest Reporting/Middle East Media Watch, Stand With Us, and ZOA (Hadassah). Koret funds the Eli Wiesel Foundation, which focuses on exploiting the history of the Nazi genocide to promote Zionism and justify anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism. Other Zionist backlash organizations the Koret Foundation funds include American Friends of Shavei Israel, American Friends of the Israeli Democratic Institute, and the American Friends of the Reut Institute (see pages 30-33). The Koret Foundation funds anti-Arab, anti-Muslim racism through CAMERA, the Center for Security Policy, the Investigative Project on Terrorism, and the David Horowitz Freedom Center.

In addition to donating to Zionist organizations, the Koret Foundation gives money to colleges and universities at a level that puts pressure on the administration to remain sympathetic and loyal to Koret's political agenda. The Koret Foundation has made major donations to the UC Regents at Berkeley, UC Davis, and UC Santa Cruz. According to its 990s, the Koret also donated close to Stanford's Board of Trustees, and made substantial contributions to SF State University including donations specifically

earmarked for the former Presidents' retirement fund. **The Koret Foundation's use of its money to exert pressure on those whom its funds in line with its political agenda became apparent when they pulled their funding from the San Francisco Film Festival after the Festival refused to censor the movie *Rachel*, about the U.S. activist Rachel Corrie who was murdered by the Israeli army.**

Intermediaries: The Koret foundation funds several organizations that in turn fund or give cover to Zionist projects and Zionist backlash. These include the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Central Fund of Israel, Endowment for Middle East Truth, The Jewish Federation in Los Gatos, NY, San Francisco and East Bay, PEF Israel Endowment Funds (\$1.5 million in 2012), MEMRI, the Middle East Forum, Scholars for Peace in the Middle East, several Hillel chapters, and the Milken Institute, which in turn gives money to Stand With Us, a virulent Zionist backlash organization that presents itself as grassroots, but spends its time targeting Palestinian and solidarity activists and organizations.

The Koret Foundation also funds the Brookings Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute for the Study of War; the Manhattan Institute, “Defend Your Health Care,” the Claremont Institute, the Federalist Society, the George W. Bush Foundation, the Ayn Rand Institute, Free to Choose Network (linked to Milton Friedman, Reagan's economic advisor), the Center for Creative Change, the Naval War College Foundation, REPORT, Inc., American Friends of the Hebrew University, American Friends of the IDC, American Israel Education Foundation, American-Israel Education Foundation, JIMENA, Birthright, Blue Star P.R., the Cato Institute, Chabad centers, Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, Friends of the IDF, Institute for Jewish and Community Research, the Hudson Institute, American Friends of Israel Democracy Institute, Israel Strategic Alternative Energy Foundation, the Jewish Agency for Israel, the Jewish Community Center of San Francisco and the East Bay (close to \$1 million total), UN Watch, the Rand Corporation, and the Shalom Foundation.

Charles and Lynn Schusterman Foundation

www.schusterman.org

The **Charles and Lynn Schusterman Foundation** has a net worth of over \$2 billion. Since 2008, it has given at least \$40 million to Zionist and Zionist Backlash organizations.

Investments and sources of profit: Charles Schusterman created Samson Resources, an Oklahoma-based oil company. In 2011, the Schusterman family sold most of it to a multinational private equity firm for \$7.2 billion, part of which went to set up the Schusterman Foundation. Though they sold most of the oil company, newly formed Samson Energy maintains sizable production along the Gulf Coast, is reinvesting in the Marcellus shale and Permian basin and has partnered with Chevron and Noble Energy on deep water drilling developments. The Schusterman Foundation is also heavily invested in the TCW Energy fund.

Contributions: The Schusterman Foundation funds organizations that are dedicated to general Zionist backlash, such as the Amcha Initiative and Stand With Us. They gave \$10 million to the ADL over four years. However, overall, they tend to fund organizations with a focus on campuses, such as over \$6.7 million over four years to the American-Israeli Cooperative Initiative, a member of the Israel on Campus Coalition, with additional grants of over \$2 million to the Israel on Campus Coalition itself. They gave over \$3 million over four years to the American Israel Education Foundation, self-described as the “charitable” wing of AIPAC, which in turn gives grants to select pro-Israel “educational” programs as well as funding “educational” seminars and trips to Israel for university students and members of Congress. They give directly to various Hillels, including approximately \$1.2 to \$2.3 million to Hillel in Washington D.C. each year for three years. The Reut Institute was a grantee of the Schusterman foundation in 2009 and 2010, and the Schusterman’s prioritization of campus backlash in their funding is consistent with the Reut Institute’s recommendation to fight anti-Zionism on university campuses (see pages 30-33). Other Zionist organizations they fund are the American Zionist Movement, the New Israel

Fund, and the Jewish National Fund, one of the founding Zionist organizations of the state of Israel. They have given half a million dollars a year over four years to the Israel Education Resource Center, a project of the Jewish Federation that provides pro-Israel articles and propaganda to universities, students, and teachers.

Besides Zionist backlash organizations, they fund a range of other Islamophobic organizations that contribute to a climate where Zionism, anti-Muslim and anti-Arab sentiment are seen as pervasive and acceptable. These include MEMRI and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Beyond Zionism and Zionist backlash, the Schusterman Foundation has a focus on education, which translates to funding groups like Teach for America, Knowledge is Power Programs (KIPP), and the Urban Schools Human Capital Academy, which focus on the “emerging leadership” of individual teachers as opposed to shifting towards an investment in public education. They also advocate for and fund the charter school movement, which privatizes public education.

Intermediaries: The Schusterman Foundation funds include the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Funders Network, and the P.E.F. Israel Endowment Fund which distributes funds directly to organizations in Israel. They also contribute to the Central Fund of Israel.



Klarman Family Foundation

www.klarmanfoundation.org

The **Klarman Family Foundation** has a net worth of over \$300 million dollars. Since 2008, they have donated at least \$33 million to Zionist and Zionist backlash organizations.

Investments and sources of profit: Seth Klarman founded Baupost Group, an investment firm based in Boston, which managed \$22 million as of 2010. In 2015, he was listed by Forbes magazine as one of the 25 top-earning hedge-fund managers.⁷¹

Contributions: In terms of Zionist backlash organizations, the Klarman Foundation funds the ADL, Friends of the IDF, the Jewish National Fund, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Stand With Us, the United Israel Appeal and the Zionist Organization of America (Hadassah). Klarman is also the chairman of Facing History and Ourselves, which develops classroom programs that exploit the legacy of the Nazi genocide to promote support for Israel. Between 2001 and 2010, Klarman gave MEMRI \$4 million. Similarly, they donated a total of over \$11 million to CAMERA from 2008 to 2012, and \$1.1 million to “Honest Reporting” over that same timespan. Besides organizations dedicated to manipulating the media for promoting Israel and anti-Arab, anti-Muslim racism, the Klarman Foundation supports organizations and think-tanks that seek to influence policy, such as the anti-Arab, anti-Muslim Center for Security Policy and the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, dedicated to “fighting terrorism and supporting freedom,” the Washington Institute on Near East Policy, and the Hudson Institute.

The Klarman Foundation made donations to the Reut Institute in 2011 and 2012. In line with Reut’s strategy to focus Zionist backlash and propaganda on campuses, the Klarman Foundation supports Hillel chapters and the Israel on Campus Coalition. They also supported Birthright Israel with \$3.75 million from 2009 to 2012, and the David Project which The Klarman Foundation has given \$3.45 million to the David Project since 2008, an organization which sponsors trips to Israel for Jewish students, LGBT student leaders and student leaders of color, cynically trying to buy their allegiance.

The Klarman Foundation also supports the American Islamic Congress and the American Islamic Forum for Democracy, both organizations which seek to rally Muslims in the United States for the US agenda in the region and against “terrorism.” The Klarman Foundation also contributes to “People-Centered Economic Development” which describes itself as “poverty-relief via targeted community enterprise development.” In fact it replaces public poverty relief programs with private charity instead.

Intermediaries: The Klarman Foundation makes sizable grants to several intermediary organizations which directly support Zionist organizing and/or Israeli or settlement institutions. These intermediaries include the Central Fund of Israel, Combined Jewish Philanthropies (with a total of \$7.9 million from 2008 to 2012), the Jewish Federation, The Jewish Funders Network, JINSA, the Middle East Forum, Scholars for Peace in the Middle East, and the PEF Israel Endowment Fund. They gave the American Jewish Committee over \$3 million from 2008 to 2011.

Russell Berrie Foundation

www.russellberriefoundation.org

The **Russell Berrie Foundation** has a net worth of over \$200 million. Since 2010, they have given over \$81 million to Zionist backlash organizations. The Berrie Foundation has given between 21 percent and 43 percent of its total distributions a year to these organizations over the last 4 years. The Berrie Foundation is also listed as one of the top seven funders of the Islamophobia network.⁷²

Investments and sources of profit: Based in New Jersey, Russell Berrie made his initial wealth in the toy manufacturing industry, producing plush toys and gift items. Since then, the wealth has been invested in a range of industries through Goldman Sachs and Bear Stearns. The Director of Russell Berrie and Company is also the Vice-chair of Bear Stearns.

Contributions: The Russell Berrie Foundation describes part of its purpose as raising “awareness of terrorism” as well as promoting “continuity and

enrichment of Jewish communal life.” In reality, that translates to funding Islamophobia and Zionism. They fund Zionist backlash through the American Friends of Israel Democracy Institute, the Jewish Agency for Israel, MEMRI, the New Israel Fund, American Friends of the Reut Institute, and the World Jewish Congress which promotes “recognizing the centrality of the State of Israel to contemporary Jewish identity.” The Russell Berrie Foundation funds organizations that represent themselves as Jewish organizations but whose activities almost exclusively focus on pro-Israel support and propaganda, as well as Zionist backlash including Rutgers Hillel. They fund the Berrie Fellows Leadership Program, a “two year Jewish learning and leadership education experience” that includes something called the “Israel Institute.” The Foundation also directly funds the American Society for Technion, which supports the Technion-Israel Institute, a university that serves the Israeli military through research and technology.

The Berrie Foundation funds anti-Muslim, anti-Arab racism through the Counterterrorism and Security Education and Research Foundation, to which they gave over \$2.7 million between 2001 and 2009. During this time, they also gave over \$2.7 million to the Middle East Forum. The Russell Berrie Foundation also funded “The Investigative Project on Terrorism.”

Intermediaries: The Berrie Foundation gave over \$5.7 million to various Jewish Federations from 2010 to 2012. They also donated to the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Each of these organizations in turn donates to Zionist backlash organizations and Zionist projects, and represents themselves as making contributions on behalf of the broader Jewish community.

The Berrie Foundation also funds universities that give them influence in higher education, granting \$12 million to Columbia University in 2012 alone. They also fund Stanford University.

Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation

www.bradleyfdn.org

The Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation has a net worth of over \$630 million. Since 2008, they have given millions to Zionist backlash organizations, from 2001 to 2009 provided \$5,370,000 in funding to the Islamophobia network.

Investments & sources of profit: The initial wealth of Lynde and Harry Bradley came from the Allen-Bradley company, which produced automated factory equipment.

Contributions: The Bradley Foundation gave the Anti-Defamation League over \$10.5 million from 2009 to 2012. Other Zionist backlash organizations they fund include Stand with Us, several Hillels, American Friends of the Reut Institute, and the Israel on Campus Coalition (with over \$2 million). They also fund the American Zionist Movement, the American Israel Education Foundation, the Judaism and Democracy Action Alliance of North America, the American Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, the Israel Education Resource Center, and the Jewish National Fund, which participates directly in the ongoing colonization of Palestine (see the Schusterman profile).

In early 2014, the liberal Center for American Progress issued a report exposing the foundation for funding groups that spread “misinformation about Muslim-Americans.” These funds went to such places as the Middle East Forum (\$305,000), the Center for Security Policy (\$815,000), and the David Horowitz Freedom Center which created the “Jihad Watch” website (\$4,250,000). At the same time, they fund the American Islamic Congress and the American Islamic Forum for Democracy – both organizations which attempt to organize Muslims around the US agenda in the region and to give credibility to anti-Muslim racism. Similarly, the Bradley Foundation funds the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, MEMRI, and the Media Research Center.

Intermediaries: The Bradley Foundation donated to JINSA, the American Jewish Committee as well as the Middle East Forum

(mentioned above) – all organizations that serve to obfuscate major donations from foundations.

Beyond Islamophobia, the Bradley Foundation was described by *Milwaukee-Wisconsin Journal Sentinel* as “acting like a venture capital fund for conservative ideas.” Policies backed by the Bradley Foundation, such as “welfare reform, public vouchers for private schools and cutbacks in public employee benefits and collective bargaining” are advanced or developed in Wisconsin and then promoted nationally. While the conservative and **austerity** causes they support run the gamut, they have a particular anti-labor, anti-environment, and anti-immigrant focus, as well as a pro-military, pro-privatization focus. Since the 1980s and today the Bradley Foundation funds organizations which dismantle environmental regulations and funds educational programs directed to promote US military expenditures and actions.⁷³

The Bradley Fund for the Environment supports legal actions to block newly recognized endangered species from being registered. The Bradley Foundation also contributes to conservative and often highly controversial scholarships, publications and “academic” research aimed at legitimizing far-right policy positions, such as the Hudson Institute. They also fund organizations that oppose same-sex marriage and promote “traditional gender roles” within heterosexual marriage. They fund ideology production that opposes “government policies that discourage assimilation [of immigrants], including bilingual education and bilingual ballots.” They also fund the Center for Equal Opportunity, which houses an “affirmative action watch” – designed to fight against affirmative action, and for the institutionalized preferential treatment of white people.

The Sheldon Adelson Family Foundation

www.adelsonfoundation.org

As of May 2014, Sheldon Adelson was counted as the 8th richest person in the world, with a total of \$37.6 billion in assets.⁷⁴ He was the largest Republican donor in the 2012 campaign, giving \$100 million to various GOP candidates to try to ensure a Republican would win the presidency.⁷⁵ In addition to his personal giving, Adelson gives through three main foundations: the Adelson Family Foundation, the Dr. Miriam and Sheldon G. Adelson Medical Research Foundation and the Dr. Miriam & Sheldon G. Adelson Charitable Trust. The Adelson Charitable Trust and the Adelson Family Foundation both give to Zionist backlash organizations directly and through intermediaries, as well as a range of conservative and anti-labor causes.

Investments & sources of profit: Sheldon Adelson runs the largest casino company in the world, Las Vegas Sands, which runs the Palazzo and the Venetian in Las Vegas, the Sands Macao in China and the Marina Bay Sands in Singapore. His company came under investigation for bribery under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act in 2013.⁷⁶

Contributions: The Adelson Family Foundation describes its purpose as “strengthening the state of Israel and the Jewish people.” In 2012 alone, the Adelson Foundation gave \$32 million to Birthright Israel, out of a total of \$45 million that the foundation distributed that year. From 2008 to 2012, the Adelson Foundation has given a total of over \$71 million to Birthright Israel. Birthright Israel has sent over 400,000 young Jewish people on a free trip to Israel in order to “strengthen bonds with the land and people of Israel.” Adelson gave \$25 million to Yad Vashem, the Israeli “Holocaust remembrance” museum that produces Zionist propaganda that manipulates the history of the Nazi genocide to justify the founding of the State of Israel on Palestinian land.⁷⁷ Additionally, Adelson donated \$16 million to SpaceIL, an Israeli nonprofit dedicated to the goal of landing an Israeli spacecraft on the moon. The Foundation established the Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem with an initial grant of \$4.5 million. The purpose

of this “research and academic institute” is to “build support for the strategic principles needed to address the challenges currently facing Israel and the West.” The Adelson Family Foundation alone gives to the American Islamic Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, Christians United for Israel, the Endowment for Middle East Truth, Friends of the IDF, MEMRI, the Jewish National Fund, the United Jewish Fund, and the Zionist Organization of America. In 2012, the Adelson Family Foundation gave \$1 million to the Friends of Israel Initiative, which formed in response to the “unprecedented campaign of delegitimization against Israel” and claims that “radical Islamism threatens the entire world.” He also owns Israel HaYom, a free daily newspaper that has been called “the Fox News of Israel” for its politics.⁷⁸ Adelson stopped donating to AIPAC in response to feeling that it was too soft on Palestinians.⁷⁹

Intermediaries: The Adelson Family Foundation alone gave over \$4.4 million to Combined Jewish Philanthropies from 2008 to 2012. They also gave over \$2 million to the Jewish Federation of Las Vegas from 2011 to 2012. In 2012, they also gave to P.E.F. Israel Endowment Funds, which in turn donates directly to Israeli nonprofits and organizations.

Adelson also provides major funding for anti-labor campaigns and the Republican Party. Someone who used to work as his Vice President of Legal and Governmental affairs reported that he said “old Democrats were with the union and he wanted to break the back of the union, consequently he had to break the back of the Democrats.” His casino, the Venetian, is the only non-unionized major casino in Las Vegas. The Boston Globe reports that Adelson has “waged some bitter anti-union battles in Las Vegas.”⁸⁰ In 2012, Adelson committed to join the state-by-state effort of Republicans to deny the right to collective bargaining.⁸¹

The Koch Brothers

www.kochfamilyfoundations.org

The Koch brothers have at least \$115 billion in net assets. The Koch Family Foundations began with the establishment of the **Fred and Mary Koch Foundation in 1953, and now include the Charles Koch Foundation, the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation and the Koch Cultural Trust.** They each give a significant amount of money through the **Donor Capital Fund** and the related **DonorsTrust** – which distributed approximately \$56,000,000 in 2012 alone. Of this, millions went to Zionist backlash organizations, and much more to pro-Israel groups and anti-Muslim, anti-Arab organizations. **Donors Capital Fund** is listed as one of the top seven funders of the Islamophobia network.⁸²

Investments & sources of profit: The Koch brothers’ father, Fred Koch, developed a new method for refining oil into gasoline. All four sons fought legal battles with each other over the family business, and eventually Charles and David Koch gained control of the enterprise. Currently, Koch Industries, Inc. is an American multinational corporation based in Wichita, Kansas, United States, with subsidiaries involved in manufacturing, trading and investments. Koch owns Invista, Georgia-Pacific, Flint Hills Resources, Koch Pipeline, Koch Fertilizer, Koch Minerals and Matador Cattle Company. Koch companies are involved in core industries such as the manufacturing, refining and distribution of petroleum, chemicals, energy, fiber, intermediates and polymers, minerals, fertilizers, pulp and paper, chemical technology equipment, ranching, finance, commodities trading, as well as other ventures and investments. Koch Industries is ranked as one of the 30 top polluters in the United States.

Contributions: The Koch brothers are known for funding a range of ultra right-wing, neoliberal and often fundamentalist causes. In 2008, the Donors Capital Fund donated \$17.7 million to the Clarion Project, an anti-Muslim, anti-Arab non-profit “dedicated to exposing the dangers of Islamic extremism.” In 2011 alone, they have over \$5 million to the David Horowitz Freedom Center, another extremely anti-Muslim, anti-Arab organization that also advocates for aggressive war in the Middle East. Other organizations

they support through Donors Capital Fund are the American Islamic Congress, CAMERA, Center for Islamic Pluralism, Center for Security Policy, Christians United for Israel, Defending America for Knowledge and Action, Friends of Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress, the Investigative Project on Terrorism, MEMRI, Security Research Associates, Stand With Us, and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Intermediaries: The Koch brothers give through Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund in order to protect their anonymity as much as possible. In addition to these two primary vehicles for hiding their money, the Donors Capital Fund in turn gave Central Fund of Israel \$675,000 total from 2011 to 2012 earmarked for Shurat Hadin, also known as the Israel Law Center, which defends settlers, Israeli war criminals and wages warfare against Palestinians (see the intermediaries below for more information). The Donors Capital Fund also contributed over \$6.7 million from 2007 to 2012 to the Middle East Forum.

More broadly, the Koch brothers are famous for funding a variety of organizations and lawfare projects designed to increase the amount of control and influence corporations and private wealth have over government. In addition, they bankroll an extremely right wing, anti-labor, anti-environment, racist, anti-immigrant, homophobic, sexist agenda. They are for privatization of education and healthcare, against many kinds of regulations from fines for pollution to carbon dioxide monitoring to the minimum wage. They are some of the primary financial backers of the Tea Party through a non-profit they founded called Americans for Prosperity, donating over \$45 million through Americans for Prosperity in the 2010 elections in which Republicans, including some of the most extreme right wing candidates in decades, gained control of Congress.⁸³ In line with their clear and aggressive political agenda, they bankrolled the lawfare that resulted in the 2014 Supreme Court decision that lifted the limit on corporate donations to political campaigns.

They fund the National Organization for Marriage – an anti gay marriage group – through the intermediary DonorsTrust, and directly fund “Focus on the Family!” The Koch brothers’ father

founded the John Birch Society, infamous for its work against the Civil Rights Movement, and which continues to be virulently anti-immigrant and pro-war. DonorsTrust funds the Project of Fair Representation, which opposes affirmative action and bankrolled the lawsuit that led the Supreme Court to strike down part of the Voting Rights Act. They also support the ‘Independent Women’s Forum,’ which claims that the “real issue” is not sexism or a lack of gender-equality in the work force, but rather “big government.” They fund a range of organizations that work against minimum wage laws and the right to unionize among other worker’s rights. They also fund climate change denial and pro-fracking propaganda. Consistent with their far-reaching right wing agenda, they fund the Cato Institute, a highly influential neoliberal think-tank. From 2008 to 2012, the Donors Capital Fund gave \$6.85 million to the Hudson Institute, another extremely conservative think tank.

Moskowitz Foundation

www.moskowitzfoundation.org

As of 2012, the **Moskowitz Foundation** had net assets of \$47,280,189.84. Since 1988 they have given out over \$116 million dollars.⁸⁵ In the 1980s, Moskowitz told the *Washington Post* that his goal was to “do everything I possibly can to help reclaim Jerusalem for the Jewish people.”⁸⁶ Moskowitz is one of the biggest contributors to settlements in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza, building up the “hard core” of the settler movement.⁸⁷ The Moskowitz Foundation also supports radical Republican institutions like American Crossroads – Karl Rove’s super PAC – and “birther” organizations which claim that President Barack Obama’s U.S. citizenship is illegitimate, and that he has ties to “radical Islam.”⁸⁸

Cherna Moskowitz, the president of the foundation and Irving Moskowitz’s wife, sits on the board of Nefesh B’ Nefesh (a group which supports Jews in moving to Israel), Zionist Organization of America, JINSA (which facilitates Israeli military training of U.S. police), among other Zionist institutions. She also chairs the Moskowitz Prize for Zionism.⁸⁹

Investment and Sources of Profit: The physician Irving Moskowitz made his fortune buying up and flipping hospitals, and using funds to buy land for settlers in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza. He dramatically increased his fortune by operating a bingo operation and for-profit card game casino in economically depressed Hawaiian Gardens, California.⁹⁰

Contributions: The Moskowitz Foundation is best known for using its tax-exempt funds to support settlements in East Jerusalem, West Bank, and Gaza – giving more than \$15 million to settlements since 2008. In East Jerusalem, the Foundation employs the strategy of “boxing in” Arab neighborhoods in order to force out Palestinian residents.⁹¹ Moskowitz supports the West-bank and near-West-Bank settlements of Itamar, Afula, Hebron, and Gush Etzion. The Foundation also funds U.S. non-profits that funnel money to settlement construction as well as settlements schools, food, recreation centers and synagogues and “has also paid for more legally questionable commodities: housing as well as guard dogs, bulletproof vests, rifle scopes and vehicles to secure outposts deep in occupied areas.”⁹² In 2012, the Foundation gave \$1 million to Friends of Ir David Inc. Brooklyn non-profit funneling money to City of David in East Jerusalem – an “archaeological site” in an Arab neighborhood of East Jerusalem seeking to evict 1500 Palestinians.⁹³ The Foundation has given over \$2.6 million to the U.S.-based Central Fund of Israel, whose settlement grantees include Rabbi Yitzhak Shapira, who, in his book advocates the killing of Palestinian babies because of “the future danger that will arise if they are allowed to grow into evil people like their parents.”⁹⁴ It has contributed to the extremely Islamophobic Clarion Project.

The Moskowitz's also fund the far right in the U.S., because of their support for Zionism. Irving Moskowitz made headlines in 2012 when he donated \$1 million to American Crossroads, a large political contribution even by American standards.⁹⁵ The Foundation also gives to groups propagating Islamophobia, such as the Center for Security policy (incidentally, Anders Breivik, the Norwegian Christian conservative who in 2011 massacred 74 people cited writings from the Center for Security Policy in his manifesto).⁹⁶

Fairbrook Foundation

At the end of 2012, the **Fairbrook Foundation's** net assets over \$45 million. Since 2007, they have given close to \$30 million to a mix of conservative and cultural institutions. Of that, over \$8 million has gone specifically to Zionist backlash organizations. In 2011, the Center for American Progress labeled them one of the top seven contributors to promoting Islamophobia in the U.S.⁹⁷

Created in 2004 by Aubrey and Joyce Chernick, Fairbrook Foundation is one of many ways that the Chernick's contribute to Zionist backlash organizations. In 2005, Aubrey Chernick acted as a primary angel investor in the creation of the right-wing, pro-Israel media blog Pajamas Media.⁹⁸ And Joyce Chernick supplied much of the \$920,000 used by David Horowitz's Freedom Center to begin Jihad Watch.⁹⁹ She also served on the board of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, which received over \$90,000 between 2010-11 from Fairbrook.¹⁰⁰

Investments and sources of profit: Aubrey Chernick, whose net worth is estimated to be \$750 million, made much of his fortune by selling a software company to IBM in 2004. In 2003, he created the National Center for Crisis and Continuity Coordination (NC4), a company that describes itself as, “focused on advancing crisis management and business-continuity readiness through public-private sector collaboration.” One of their products is NC4 Street Smart, specifically designed to provide security and communication tools for law enforcement in the U.S.. Street Smart, “collects data about people, places, activities, and assets and puts it in one place” and “arms police officers with critical, real-time crime data while patrolling the streets.” NC4's clients come largely from aerospace and defense, banking and finance, government, law enforcement, oil and gas, pharmaceuticals and biotech, manufacturing, retail and telecommunications.¹⁰¹ Former Senior Director at NC4, Richard Andrews, served on the President's Homeland Security Advisory Council during Bush's presidency while he still worked at NC4.¹⁰²

Contributions: The Fairbrook Foundation has funded the Central Fund of Israel (\$240,000)

and contributed over \$650,000 to Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum.¹⁰³ The Foundation has also contributed \$250,000 to the American Freedom Alliance in recent years (2008-2012), an organization that “promotes, defends and upholds Western values and ideals” primarily through Islamophobic propaganda and climate change denial.¹⁰⁴ Fairbrook Foundation donated (\$10,000) to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, where Aubrey Chernick is a trustee. The Washington Institute is a pro-Israel, hawkish think tank originally affiliated with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

The Fairbrook Foundation is housed under the California Community Foundation (CCF), whose three vice presidents are the only board members of Fairbrook Foundation other than Aubrey and Joyce Chernick. In 2012 alone, over \$3 million in “gifts, grants, or capital contributions” were exchanged between Fairbrook and parent organization, CCF.

Among Fairbrook's other contributions is the American Friends of Ateret Cohanim, which funds Jewish settlement in majority Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵ In 2010, the foundation contributed \$110,000 to American Friends of Yeshiva High School of Kiryat Arba, a settlement project in Hebron. The contributions to Kiryat Arba are tax exempt, thereby allowing Fairbrook to support a West Bank settlement project with taxpayer dollars, despite the US government's stated commitment to not provide aid for settlements there.¹⁰⁶

The list of Zionist backlash organizations funded by the Fairbrook Foundation includes American Jewish Congress (\$150,000), American Freedom Alliance (\$250,000), American Congress for Truth (\$50,000), Aish Hatorah LA (\$42,000), Anti-Defamation League (\$1,500), Center for Security Policy (\$106,700), CAMERA (\$75,000), Council for Democracy and Tolerance (\$153,250), Hudson Institute (\$125,000), The Jewish Federation of LA (\$2,335,000), Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (\$15,000), Media Line (\$100,000), Second Draft (\$190,000), Investigative Project on Terrorism (\$25,000), Stand with Us (\$40,000), MEMRI (\$100,00), Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), and Society of Americans for National Existence (\$90,000).¹⁰⁷ And they fund the

Council for Secular Humanism (\$66,664) in its effort to promote secularism to the Islamic world, even as the foundation contributes great sums of money to support religiosity through institutions like Aish Hatorah of LA.¹⁰⁸

They also contribute to right-wing think tanks like the Ayn Rand Institute (\$30,000) and the Heritage Foundation (\$50,000).

Intermediaries: The Fairbrook Foundation has given over \$2.3 million to the Jewish Federation of LA. They also contribute to the Central Fund of Israel and Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum.¹⁰⁹

PROFILES OF SEVEN MAJOR INTERMEDIARIES IN NETWORK OF ZIONIST BACKLASH IN THE U.S.

The following groups are what we identify as Zionist intermediaries. They serve as clearinghouses of money, people and organizations and are on both the receiving and giving end of the Dirty Money chain.

The following intermediaries all receive money from foundations as well as major and minor donors, and then pass it on to other organizations and non-profits, operating on both local and national levels. In this way, intermediaries have the effect of obscuring the sources of funding, including major donations, and give the appearance that the agendas of the larger donors are more grassroots than they actually are.

Middle East Forum

www.meforum.org

Daniel Pipes is the president and founder of Middle East Forum (MEF). He receives money from six of the nine major donors including the Scaifes, the Kochs, the Bradleys, the Beckers and the Koret and Klarman Foundations. He also receives funding from three of the six other intermediaries below and gives money to a fourth, the Central Fund of Israel. He is also on the advisory board of the Clarion Project and Endowment for Middle East Truth (see page 25). He also sat on the boards of both the Center for Islamic Pluralism, as well as the Anti-Islamic Institute. Pipes gave the original seed money to and is on the Board of Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME), which gave money to start the backlash organization, the Amcha Initiative. He espouses extreme anti-Muslim and anti-Arab racist views and promotes Islamophobia through multiple venues, including the Middle East Quarterly and sponsors Campus Watch, Islamist Watch, the Legal Project, and the Washington Project, directed by Steven J. Rosen, formerly of AIPAC, seeks to influence U.S. policy, particularly in regards to Iran and the Arab-Israeli conflict, through intensive in-person contacts in the capital. MEF is a think-tank which produces highly Islamophobic analysis and is cited repeatedly

by notorious Islamophobes and reactionaries such as Norway mass murder Anders Breivik. Campus Watch, another Pipes project, is one of the best known of these organizations. Pipes launched it in 2002 to monitor academics and professors who deviate from Zionist scholarship or attempt to tell the truth about events in the modern Middle East and especially in relation to Palestine and Israel.

The significance of Pipes's work to those funding Zionist backlash and Islamophobia is revealed in the numbers. According to a RightWeb investigation of the MEF 990s from 2000-2009, the MEF received at least \$325,000 from the Russell Berrie Foundation, \$240,000 from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, \$200,000 from the Newton and Rochelle Becker Charitable Trust, and over \$2 million from the Donors Capital Fund. All told, Right Web identified at least \$8,801,450 raised by MEF in this period, primarily coming from "pro-Israel" and Islamophobic donors, foundations and intermediaries.¹¹⁰ Going further back, between 1996 and 2005, according to Media Transparency, the Middle East Forum received nearly \$300,000 from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, much of it to support Campus Watch.¹¹¹ According to its 2004 Form 990, MEF received \$1,800,000 in 2003 in the form of gifts, grants, and contributions. In 2001 Norman Hascoe's Hascoe Family Foundation gave MEF \$20,000, and in 2003 the Hascoe Charitable Foundation gave MEF \$10,000.¹¹² Hascoe served as president of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), a right-wing advocacy group that attempts to link the security of the United States to that of Israel.¹¹³ Over this time period, the Jewish Communal Fund of New York gave close to \$400,000.

A review of the 2009-2012 990s reveal that in recent years, MEF has continued to get funds from the major backlash funders profiled in this report. He received, from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, \$100,000 between 2010 and 2011. Over the course of 2009-2010, MEF received \$475,000 from Seth Klarman, the

investment billionaire. The Abstraction Fund, run by Nina Rosenwald, in 2012 gave \$987,000 to MEF, breaking it out into 77 different donations, breaking it out into a large number of discrete donations in order to give the appearance of grassroots support. Between 2011 and 2012, the Becker Foundation gave \$109,000 to MEF. The Kochs and Donors Capital gave, in 2010-2011, \$3.995 million dollars, again to MEF. The Fairbrook Foundation, funded by the Chernicks, gave MEF \$470,000 between 2009 and 2010. The Koret Foundation gave \$85,000 to MEF between 2011 and 2012. And in 2010, the Jewish Communal Fund of New York gave \$18,700 to MEF, and that same year, the Jewish Community Foundation of LA gave \$22,000 to MEF. The Jewish Federation of Cleveland has given \$26,500.

MEF in turn is a major conveyor belt, sending funds on to smaller outfits. In 2010 it gave American Friends of NGO Monitor \$100,000. It gave the American Jewish Congress \$50,000, and the American Jewish Committee \$36,000. In 2012, MEF gave Americans for Peace and Tolerance \$15,000. MEF gave the Brandeis Center \$23,000 that same year. MEF also gave the Center for Security Policy \$200,000, in 2012. MEF gave \$1,000,000 in 2012 to the Gatestone Institution, AIPAC's thinktank. MEF gave \$20,000 in 2010 to the Zionist Organization of America. Between 2010 and 2012, MEF Myths and Facts \$50,000 and over the same period, \$300,000 to MEMRI. During that same period, they gave \$1,000,000 to the Investigative Project on Terrorism. MEF also gave \$50,000 to CAMERA in 2009. MEF also gave the Endowment for Middle East Truth \$75,000 in 2010. 2011-2012, the Jewish News Service received from the MEF \$446,000.

Pipes also has an extremely high public profile. He discusses current events on television, including on U.S. programs such as Crossfire, News-Hour with Jim Lehrer, the O'Reilly Factor, the Today Show, and Good Morning America. He is also listed as one of the top five "Misinformation Experts" in Fear Inc., the Center for American Progress' report on the Islamophobia Network in the US. Additionally, he targets public figures who he perceives as being antagonistic to either Israel or his Islamophobic agenda, including President Obama, of whom, he states, it has "never been proven that Obama was never Muslim."

The Central Fund of Israel

The Central Fund of Israel plays a role in directly supporting Israeli settlements and settlers in Palestine, as well as supporting anti-Palestinian repression in the United States. In 2011 and 2012, they received \$300,000 and \$375,000 respectively from the Donors Capital Fund, earmarked for Shurat HaDin. Shurat HaDin, also known as the Israel Law Center, is the group that practices pro-Zionist Lawfare and legally defends settlers who commit murder of Palestinians. According to Shurat HaDin's website, any donations made to Shurat HaDin from the United States go through the Central Fund of Israel.¹¹⁴ This is consistent with the Central Fund of Israel's intermediary role, allowing major donors to distance themselves from funding the highly controversial settlements.

The Central Fund of Israel receives major donations from the Becker Foundation (\$60,000 in 2009), the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Foundation (\$30,000 in 2009), the Fairbrook foundation (\$150,000 in 2010; \$90,000 in 2009), the Klarman Family Foundation (\$150,000 in 2010, \$75,000 in 2009, \$60,000 in 2008), The Irving I. Moskowitz Foundation (\$601,000 in 2012, \$350,000 in 2011, \$235,000 in 2009, \$440,000 in 2008, \$350,000 in 2007), the Koret Foundation (\$20,000 in 2012, \$35,000 in 2010), and the Hertog Foundation (\$15,000 in 2013, \$15,000 in 2012, \$5,000 in 2011, \$5,000 in 2010.) Other major donors, at least as of 2004, have been James Tisch, the CEO of Loews, Michael Milken the banker/philanthropist, and Alan C. (Ace) Greenberg, the former CEO of Bear Stearns.

In turn, the Central Fund of Israel funds what they refer to as "educational programs, legal services, and religious programs," which is, in fact, code for extremist fundamentalist Yeshivas and security services in the West Bank, as well as Shurat HaDin (described above). Organizations they support include Amitz, which, according to Mondoweiss is "an umbrella organization that unites early response teams from settlements in Judea and Samaria" as well as equipment and training for settlement "protection;" Magen Yehuda, which describes its work as "short, intensive, high quality training sessions and preparation for these special units in the towns

and settlements...The training sessions are planned and approved by the army and with army assistance such as targets, bullets and a place to train, when budget allows it.”¹¹⁵ The Central Fund of Israel also funded the Od Yosef Chai Shechem Yeshiva in the West Bank, led by Rabbi Akiva Eldar –infamous for publishing his argument that it is permissible to kill Palestinian babies. CFI also funnels money to settler security forces – in other words, Israeli paramilitaries.

CFI also uses its resources to defend settler murders. For example, those who are accused of killing Mohammed abu Khdeir will reportedly have their defense funded by the CFI. At time of writing, Shurat HaDin’s website had an appeal for funds requesting that they go through the CFI, “earmarked” to Shurat HaDin and routed through an attorney’s office in Brooklyn. In that way it becomes clear that CFI is an intermediary which routes money directly into a central cause of the backlash network, which is trying to repress Palestinian community activism in the United States, as with the case with their role in gathering evidence to be used against Rasmea Odeh (see pages 28-29).

Donors Capital Fund

www.donorscapitalfund.org

Donors Capital Fund is one of the most significant donor-advised funds and intermediaries through which wealthy donors such as the Koch brothers funnel money without public oversight or accountability.¹¹⁶ It is closely linked to Donors Trust, reflected by the fact that the two share an address in Alexandria, Virginia, and have in total routed over \$311 million to conservative causes. Among those Donors Capital has received money from is the Knowledge and Progress Fund, whose directors include Charles Koch and his wife Liz. They gave \$1.25 million dollars to Donors in 2007, the same amount in 2008, and \$2 million in 2010. The Koch brothers, in turn, have connections with many of the organizations that the twin Donors fund. Some example include the Koch-founded Cato Institute, the Independent Women’s Forum, the Heritage Foundation, and the Manhattan Institute. Donors is also a crucial foundation that is used to attack both climate science and Palestine activism. **Epitomizing the function of anonymizers, Donors Capital explicitly**

advertises itself as a way for very wealthy people and corporations to remain hidden when “funding sensitive or controversial issues groups.”¹¹⁷

The twin Donors are part of a broader reactionary network that funds right-wing groups. According to a report titled *Fakexperts*, written by Silicon Valley scientist turned public interest watchdog John Mashey, right-wing foundations linked to Richard Mellon Scaife, the Bradley family, the Koch brothers, and others have been using an obscure finance network to support extremist right-wing groups.

Among the groups which received large portions of their 2010 budgets through the dual Donors funds include many of the leading deniers of widely-accepted climate science: for example, Americans For Prosperity Foundation (AFP) received 7.6 million from Donors groups in 2010, 43 percent of its budget. David Koch chairs AFP Foundation, which has received millions in direct funding from Koch foundations since its founding by the Koch brothers. Other organizations funded by Donors Capital include: Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow (**CFACT**), receiving \$1.3 million from Donors in 2010, 45 percent of its budget; Cornwall Alliance (**through the James Partnership**), receiving \$339,500 from Donors in 2010, 75 percent of its budget; Heartland Institute, receiving \$1.6 million from Donors in 2010, 27 percent of its budget; and State Policy Network (SPN), which received 36 percent of its 2010 budget (\$4.8 million) from Donors. SPN members include many of the prominent climate-change -denying organizations and many of the major conservative think tanks across the country, including AFP and Heartland.¹¹⁸ The Bradley Foundation gives millions through its Knowledge and Progress Fund.

According to the Center for Public Integrity,

Donors Trust has injected nearly \$400 million into free-market causes, thanks in large part to contributions by dozens of private foundations run by wealthy executives or their families. These foundations have often sought anonymity by passing their grants through Donors Trust, but a Center for Public Integrity review of IRS records reveals some of the largest backers of Donors Trust in recent years.¹¹⁹

[For more on the Donors funds’ backing of Zionist backlash and Islamophobia, see the Koch Brothers’ profile above].

The Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles (JCFLA)

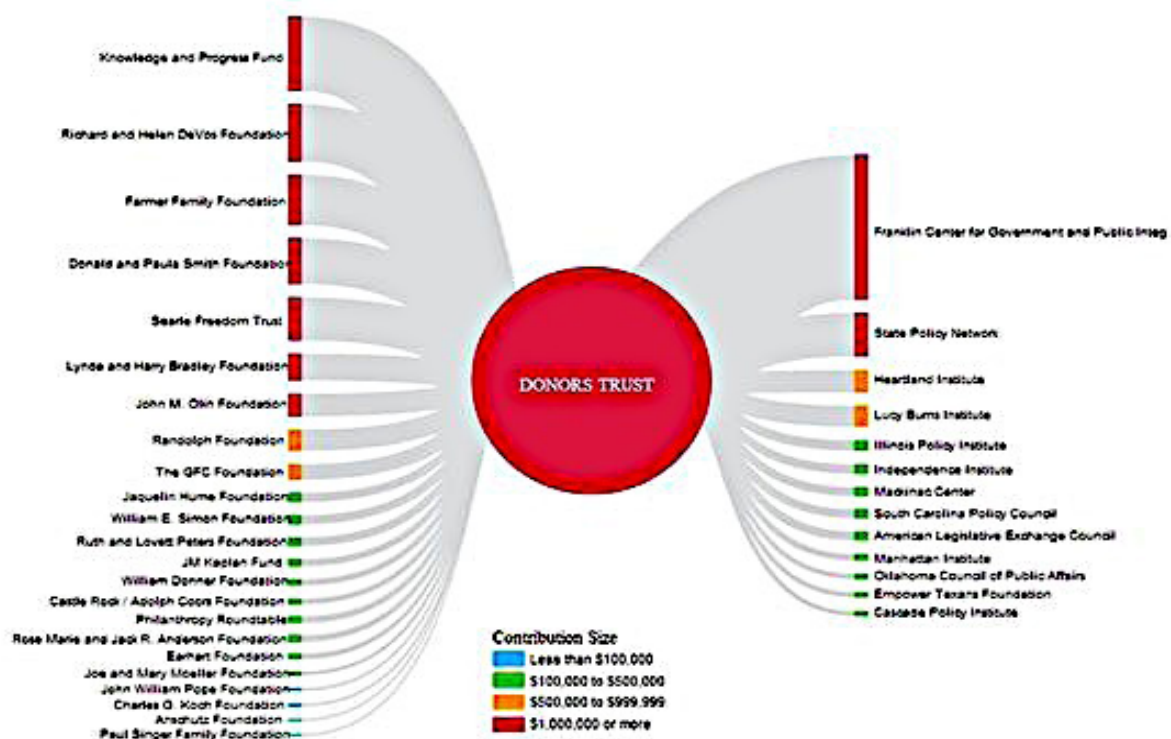
www.jewishfoundationla.org

The Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles (JCFLA) has approximately \$600 million dollars in total assets and an endowment of \$144,453,185 according to their 2012 tax records. Though the 990s for 2014 are not yet available, the JCFLA's website states that it manages over \$972 million in assets and ranks among the eleven largest Los Angeles foundations. In 2014, they distributed \$70 million in grants, up from approximately \$50 million in 2011 and 2012.¹²⁰ They have approximately \$23 million in overseas investments and grants, including \$8 million in projects the Middle East and North Africa, according to their 990s from 2010-2012. The JCFLA is a Donor Advised Fund, and many of their significant donations are anonymous. The Becker Foundation, one of the main donors to Zionist backlash, granted nearly \$700,000 to the Jewish Community Foundation in 2010.¹²¹

The Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles gives large grants to organizations that are instrumental in Zionist backlash both on and off college campuses. In 2012, the JCFLA gave \$480,750 to the American Israel Education

Foundation, the charitable organization affiliated with AIPAC. In 2012 and 2011, they gave over \$100,000 to the Simon Wiesenthal Institute and over \$100,000 to the Israel Emergency Alliance, both of which are organizations that actively combat BDS and work to silence criticisms of Israel. The Israel Emergency Alliance has also operated under the names "Stand With Us" and "Creative Community for Peace" in an attempt to obscure their actual operations.¹²² The Jewish Community Foundation of LA also gave \$169,700 to the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, "a neoconservative think tank that claims to defend democratic countries from 'radical Islamicism.'"¹²³

JCFLA gives approximately \$90,000 to the Anti-Defamation League, and approximately \$100,000 to Hillel. The Hillel chapters at UCLA also received a separate grant of over \$60,000. JCFLA gave more than \$3 million dollars to the Jewish Federation Council of LA in 2012 and 2011. The Jewish Community Foundation boasts about its \$1 million dollars in grants within Israel (up 65 percent from 2013).¹²⁴ However, according to their 990s in 2012 and 2011, there are over \$8 million dollars in grants to the Middle East and North Africa, suggesting that this number may be higher. In 2011 the



Saban Foundation received over \$1 million from JCFLA. According to an article in Mondoweiss, the Saban Foundation gave over \$1.2 million to Friends of the IDF, and \$420,000 to AIPAC in 2007.¹²⁵ Their priorities are also aligned with heightened security and policing, both in Israel and the United States. Within the U.S., they gave \$169,500 to Electric Infrastructure Securities, an NGO working to secure infrastructure from terrorist attacks.¹²⁶

The JCFLA gives several million dollars to educational institutions, both K-12 and higher education – many of them explicitly Jewish institutions – as well as both private and public colleges. They donate money to the University of California (multiple locations), the California State Universities, Harvard, Yale, UPenn, USC, Loyola, Stanford University, and more. The largest educational recipients of JCFLA funds in 2012 were Pepperdine University (\$623,000), University of Pennsylvania (\$284,500), and UCLA (\$295,540).

The Jewish Community Foundation of LA grants hundreds of thousands of dollars to museums, Jewish-focused social services, arts organizations, and medical research. They give token amounts of money to Jewish organizations that take a stance against the occupation (\$9,000 to Bend the Arc and \$9,400 to J Street in 2012, \$16,000 to Bend the Arc in 2011), to philanthropic foundations that fund grassroots social movements (\$40,000 to the Tides Foundation in 2012 and 2011), and to progressive causes such as the Prison Education Project (\$10,000 in 2012).

Jewish Communal Fund (JCF)

www.jcfny.org

The **Jewish Communal Fund (JCF)** (see *appendix for a full profile of this intermediary, page 110*) is yet another intermediary that both receives and distributes funds to organizations tied to Zionist backlash and the Islamophobia network. A Donor-Advised Fund (DAF), in 2011 the JCF received \$320 million in gifts, held \$1.1 billion in total assets, and granted out \$293 million, making it the 5th largest DAF in the country.¹²⁷ Total contributions/grants went up to \$329 million by the end of the fiscal year 2014.¹²⁸

Some of the larger foundations that provide gifts to the JCF include the Sweetfeet Foundation, which gave \$1.1 million in 2012.¹²⁹ The Gotham Charitable Foundation Trust, which funds many of the same Islamophobic and pro-Israel media groups including CAMERA, and the Investigative Project on Terrorism – which in addition to the Central Fund of Israel and JINSA (Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs) – gave \$108,000 to the JCF in 2012.¹³⁰ The largest sum of money gifted to the JCF is no doubt from the Keren Keshet—The Rainbow Foundation, who gave \$14 million to the JCF in 2008.¹³¹ Keren Keshet Foundation which has funded media platforms for Zionist pushback on college campuses, including funding the *Harvard Israel Review*, whose mission was to provide alternative narratives to those which are critical of Israel on college campuses.¹³²

The JCF contributed \$250,000 funds to in 2014 include the Anti-Defamation League B’nai B’rith in 2014. Under the guise of fighting anti-Semitism and discrimination more broadly, the ADL has consistently surveilled and spied on Arab Americans, as well as blacklisted university staff and campus groups for holding critical perspectives on Israel by labeling criticism of Israel anti-Semitic (see pages 25-27).¹³³ Ironically, the ADL, one of the most significant institutionalized purveyor of Islamophobia and self-appointed ‘Arbiter of Racism’, is even critical of the extremist group Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) for its racist and Islamophobic propaganda that claims that the US constitution is under attack from Islam and sharia law.¹³⁴

On equally disgraceful footing as the ADL is the Clarion Project, which is widely recognized as Islamophobic due to its particularly racist representations of “radical Islam.” Their propaganda contributes to racist backlash against Muslims at large, who are depicted as diametrically opposed to the “civilized,” “democratic,” and secular values of the West and Israel. The Clarion Project was awarded \$36,200 in 2014 by the JCF, and it uses these funds to produce Islamophobic propaganda films such as *Obsession: Radical Islam’s War Against the West*, *The Third Jihad*, and *Iranium*. *The Third Jihad*, which depicts images of Muslims killing Christians and children as representative of Islam, is especially significant because it was

shown to 1500 New York Police Department officers as part of a massive Islamophobic campaign of surveillance and intimidation of Muslims in New York.¹³⁵

The JCF granted another organization, *Israel21c* – funds totaling \$220,160 between 2008 and 2010 – that misinforms the public about Israel through digital information manipulation.¹³⁶ Specifically, the *Israel21c* paid college interns to post pro-Israel stories in social media – without disclosing their source – in order to improve Israel’s brand and therefore distract from its atrocities in Palestine.¹³⁷ Similarly, Christians for Fair Witness on the Middle East (CFWME) is funded by the JCF – \$50,000 – and also fights what it perceives as anti-Israel bias amongst Christian churches seeking to divest from Israeli institutions and companies. Besides the JCF, CFWME is funded by right-wing, pro-settlement Zionist groups such as the Newton D. & Rochelle F. Becker Foundation.¹³⁸

The JCF also donated \$287,554 to the Jewish National Fund, a parastatal organization that has played a central role executing, managing, and legitimating the expropriation of Palestinian land since the turn of the twentieth century.

Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP) of Boston

www.cjp.org

Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP) of Boston is yet another Donor-Advised Fund that acts as a Boston-based hub in the massive network of Zionist funding we have been describing. CJP, Greater Boston’s Jewish Federation, grew out of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Boston in 1895, and as of 2013, had total assets of \$754,092,968, though total charitable assets now exceeds \$1 billion at the time of this entry.¹³⁹ In 2013, CJP raised \$223 million.¹⁴⁰ In the fiscal year ending in June 2014, the CJP gave \$46,854,200 in donor-advised grants.¹⁴¹ However, total contributions (beyond grants) in 2013 totals more than \$225 million.¹⁴²

The two largest single donors to the **Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP) of Boston** are **Sheldon Adelson and Seth Klarman**, who head their own foundations: The Adelson Family

Foundation and Klarman Family Foundation. Both donate substantially to Zionist backlash and the larger Islamophobia network.

The Adelson Family Foundation, whose primary stated function is to “[strengthen] the state of Israel and the Jewish people,” is one of the largest donors to CJP, giving an average of \$1 million per year and roughly \$4.5 million total from 2009-2012.¹⁴³ Adelson Family Foundation also heavily funds Birthright Israel – a program that sends Jewish youth from more than 50 countries on free trips to Israel to promote the Zionist project – with \$100 million since 2007.¹⁴⁴ In addition, with \$2.8 million in 2012, the Adelson Family Foundation funds the Holocaust memorial museum Yad Va’shem, which exploits Jewish suffering to garner support and justification for the state of Israel.¹⁴⁵ While not on the level of Birthright and Yad Va’shem, the Adelson Family Foundation also contributed \$25,000 in 2012 to Christians United for Israel (CUFI), the largest pro-Israel organization in the U.S.¹⁴⁶

Based out of Boston, the Klarman Family Foundation is a major funder of CJP contributing \$7.989 million over the last five years of available records (2008-2012), with an average \$1.6 million a year.¹⁴⁷ Started by a billionaire hedge-fund manager, Seth Klarman, Klarman Family Foundation sees one of its goals as “an unwavering commitment to supporting Jewish people and the state of Israel.”¹⁴⁸ Like Adelson, Klarman focuses his backlash on the (mis)education of youth, including \$200,000 in funding to Scholars for Peace in the Middle EAST (SPME), an anti-Palestinian and anti-BDS group that asks college students to “Report BDS activity at your school” with an initiative called “BDS Monitor.”¹⁴⁹

In addition to SPME, Klarman supported the David Project to the tune of \$500,000 in 2011, which works to disseminate pro-Israel propaganda on college campuses across the US.¹⁵⁰ Like Adelson, Klarman’s funding stream is in line with CJP’s, making it a perfect intermediary for funneling resources to smaller, on-the-ground organizations that can carry out the larger agenda of maintaining support for Israel and crushing dissent against it.

Like Adelson, CJP donated over \$1.6 million in 2014 to the Birthright Israel Foundation.¹⁵¹

CJP's importance in backlash can be seen in the diversity of backlash it supports, from backing of organizations who squash legitimate criticism of Israel in American press (CAMERA, 2011, \$97,490)¹⁵², to the media institutions that selectively distort Islam by portraying it as inherently violent in order to suit its Zionist agenda (MEMRI, 2011, \$25,100).¹⁵³

From Washington think-tanks that promote pro-Israel and Western interests through trips and exchanges between U.S. and Israeli law enforcement and army officials (JINSA, 2011, \$141,200)¹⁵⁴, to college campus-based groups that provide pro-Israel students with film-making training and equipment to parody campus criticism of Israel; (The David Project, 2011, \$37,300).¹⁵⁵ These interests start with conservative funders like Adelson and Klarman Family Foundations and are carried out by more innocuous non-profit, charity groups such as those chosen by CJP's Donor Advised Fund program.

Fundamental to the backlash network, furthermore, is the national Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC), which has been relentless in its opposition to Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) efforts around the U.S., including boycotts of Israeli products at food co-ops such as Park Slope Food Co-op in Brooklyn and the Sacramento Natural Foods Co-op.¹⁵⁶ The JCRC has received substantial funding from CJP, with \$865,200 going to "capacity funding" in 2014. The JCRC uses a diversity of scare tactics, including lawsuits, to intimidate those pursuing BDS efforts or even children's' artistic representations of Israeli occupation, for example.¹⁵⁷ The CJP has also donated \$1,797,000 to "Israel Advocacy," an ambiguous line item in its funding review.¹⁵⁸

Because this list is not exhaustive, here are additional notable CJP donations to backlash organizations in 2014: \$10,000 to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), \$3000 to the American Zionist Movement, \$61,000 to the Friends of the Israel Defense Forces (FIDF), not to mention substantial funds to other backlash groups in 2011, including the Investigative Project on Terrorism (\$41,500), the Israel Project (\$61,250) and finally the United Israel Appeal (\$169,330).

The Jewish Federations of North America

www.jewishfederations.org

The **Jewish Federations of North America** give hundreds of millions of dollars through 152 local organizations in 300 communities. Jewish Federation affiliates in big cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and New York (United Jewish Appeal) each have assets between \$500 million and \$1 billion and each give in the range of \$100 million in grants each year.

The Federation affiliates are major donors to backlash organizations such as Amcha Initiative, ZOA, Jewish Council for Public Affairs, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Hillel chapters on college campuses throughout the country, and more. They grant several million dollars to organizations within Israel as well as giving large amounts of money to colleges and universities in both the United States and Israel.

In addition to being major donors to backlash organizations, Jewish Federation affiliates in major U.S. cities are directly involved in censorship and intimidation of pro-Palestinian work such as their attempts to censor an exhibit of Palestinian children's art in Oakland, CA¹⁵⁹, campaigning against UC Berkeley's divestment petition,¹⁶⁰ and working to host noted Islamophobic figure, Pamela Geller.¹⁶¹

In 2010, the Jewish Federation of North America collaborated with the Jewish Council for Public Affairs to launch the "Israel Action Network," described as "a multimillion-dollar joint initiative to combat anti-Israel boycott, divestment and sanctions campaigns" and to fight "the delegitimizing of the State of Israel."¹⁶² Their significant funding of universities creates an atmosphere in which university officials feel intimidated about challenging the censorship of professors who support BDS, as in the case of Steven Salaita.¹⁶³

The Jewish Federations of North America seek to be the "hub of the Jewish Community." However, their promotion of Jewish life is centered on advocating for Israel which reduces Jewish identity to ties of Israel and sows confusion about the difference between Jews and Zionism.

On the Federation of North America's website, under "social activism," is a page of about twenty-five detailed resources and talking points for defending Israel, including a report written by Gil Troy, a McGill University professor, entitled "Israel: Jewish and Democratic." Gil Troy asserts on his blog that campuses are "unsafe" because of Palestine solidarity organizing, and that Zionist students should see this as a "consumer protection issue" with regards to their investment in a college education.¹⁶⁴

Each Jewish Federation affiliate operates separately from the Federation of North America. Many of the Federations are Donor Advised Funds, allowing donors to be anonymous. The Becker Foundation and The Fairbrook Foundation, in particular, make large donations to Jewish Federations all over the country, with key large contributions in San Francisco (\$170,000 Becker Foundation, 2012) and Los Angeles (Fairbrook, \$2,260,000, 2008). The Adelson Foundation gave \$2,267,688 to the Las Vegas Federation in 2011. The Klarman Foundation gave \$200,000 to the San Francisco Federation in 2012, and Koret gave \$100,000 or more in 2012, 2013, and 2014. Russell Berrie gave close to or more than \$1 million to the Jewish Federation of Northern New Jersey in 2010, 2011, and 2012.

Who the Jewish Federations give money to (key examples): In 2011, Secure Community Network: A National Jewish Non-Profit Homeland Security Initiative: \$350,000; Jewish Council on Public Affairs: \$1,165,428; American Joint Distribution Committee: \$512,822; Hillel: \$50,000; United Israel Appeal – \$1,676,728; Funds Brandeis, NYU and other U.S. universities; grants over \$7 million in the Middle East and North Africa.

NY Jewish Appeal (Federation of NY) had \$1,228,189,000 in assets and gave \$146,229,000 in grants: Birthright – \$195,000; Hillel – \$1,457,000; Jewish Community Relations Council – \$1,369,000; Jewish Council for Public Affairs – \$75,000.

SF/Marin/Peninsula/Sonoma (2012) had \$745,216,712 million in total assets nearly \$2 million in endowments and gave \$104,223,664: Amcha – \$100,000 – half of Amcha's budget; American friends of Re'ut institute \$8,000;

American Israel education foundation \$533,932; American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee – more than \$4 million in several grants; ADL – \$33,485; David Horowitz Freedom Center \$25,800; UC Berkeley Hillel – \$105,637; Stanford Hillel – 148,370; UC Santa Cruz Hillel – 214,427; several more local Hillels – between \$35,000 and \$100,000; Israel Emergency Alliance (StandWithUS) – \$1,129,030; J Street – \$20,030; Jewish Community Relations Council – \$1,553,735; Middle East Forum – \$50,250; Middle East Media Research Institute \$150,000; Stanford: \$821,775, UC Berkeley: \$258,300; Washington Institute for Near East Policy: \$41,000; ZOA – \$210,000

Chicago (2011) had \$763,346,248 in assets and gave \$91,215,500 in grants: American Israel Education foundation – \$100,250; American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee – \$848,640; ADL – \$83,913; University of Pennsylvania and University of Chicago each over \$100,000; George Mason University – \$800,000; Hillel of Illinois – \$2,366,503; Israel Emergency Alliance – \$65,850.

These donors and intermediaries give to a network of Zionist organizations and media sources who play distinct roles within a broader strategy of the well-resourced, coordinated networks of Zionist backlash and Islamophobia. There is a great deal of overlap in funding across these donors and the organizations and media they give to in common. In addition, the organizations and media outlets themselves have significant overlap in boards and in personnel. Often the same person founds several organizations and/or media outlets with "independent" identities and roles that give the appearance that there is a diverse and broad network of forces involved in backlash when it really comes down to a core of donors, foundations and people running multiple vehicles. One organization also gives birth to several additional organizations or media outlets.

As shown in the figure below, we see this overlap in a constellation of organizations and media outlets surrounding and starting with intermediary **Daniel Pipes**. Pipe's lead organization, **The Middle East Forum (MEF)**, receives funding from eight of the eleven major donors involved in backlash, in addition, MEF receives funding from two other main intermediaries and the

Fairbrook Foundation. In turn, MEF funds over a dozen other backlash and Islamophobia outlets, and provided the seed funding for **Scholars for Peace in the Middle East** (SPME). In turn, SPME gave seed money for the **Amcha Initiative**, the pro-Israel watch dog based out of California, whose co-founders Tammi Rossman-Benjamin and Leila Beckwith have both served on the Board of SPME. MEF publishes the *Middle East Quarterly* and sponsors Campus Watch, Islamist Watch, the Legal Project, and the Washington Project. Pipes is also on the Advisory Board of the Clarion Project and Endowment for Middle East Truth.

Constellation: Daniel Pipes/Middle East Forum

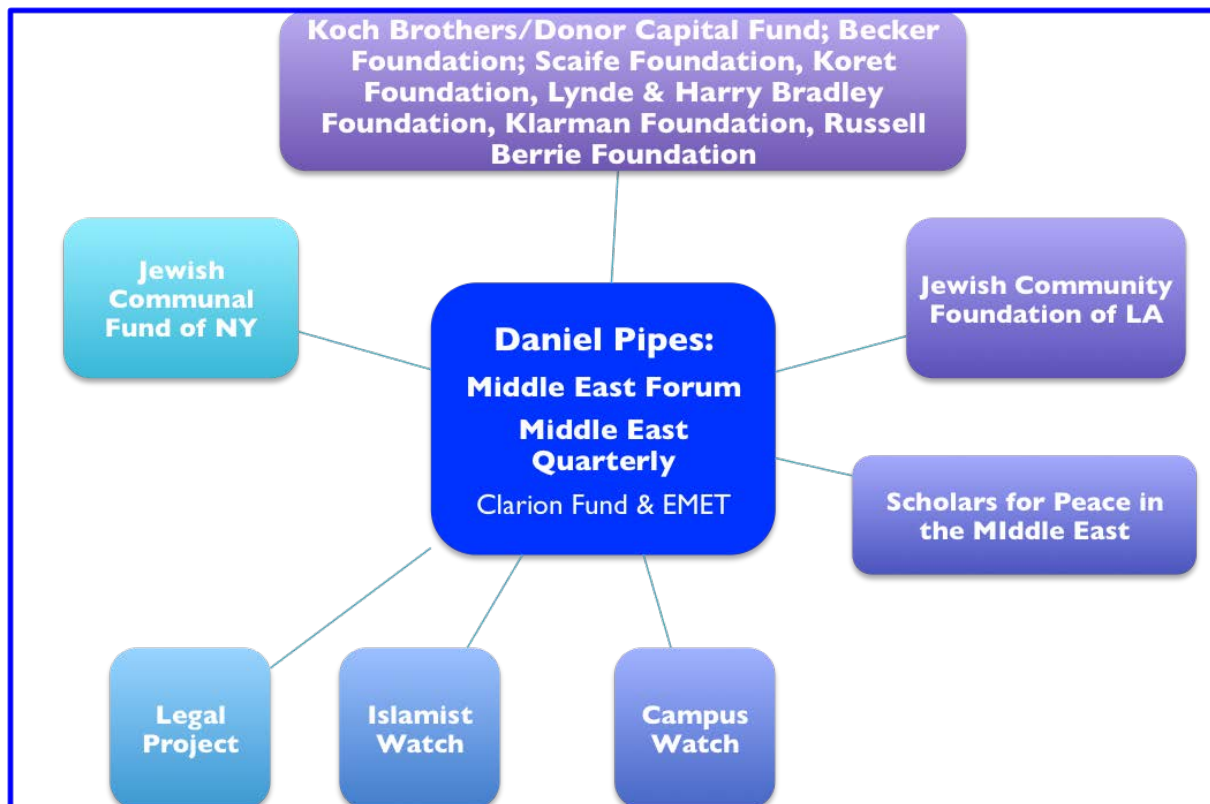


TABLE OF ZIONIST BACKLASH ORGANIZATION

Organization	Backlash Activities	Who Funds Them [selected] (amount since 2010)	Income/ Assets
Anti-Defamation League (ADL) www.adl.org	<p>Trains police forces, including university police forces, to respond to pro-Palestine activism as hate crimes. Has taken a very active role on campuses. They convinced the Florida Atlantic University to force pro-Palestine activists to undergo “civility education” program overseen by the ADL. They also keep a list of the top ten “anti-Israel” groups in the country which they identify as synonymous with antisemitism, and which includes Students for Justice in Palestine.</p>	<p>The Ford Foundation (\$1,000,000), Arie and Ida Crown Memorial (\$150,000), Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation (\$100,000), The New York Community Trust (\$97,080), Klarman Family Foundation (\$25,000), Adleson Family Foundation (\$25,000)</p>	<p>Income: \$61,366,360 (2013)</p> <p>Assets: \$30,925,474 (2013)</p>
Aish Hatorah (Hasbara Fellows) www.aish.com	<p>Produces Islamophobic video propaganda; funds hundreds of Zionist student activists on more than 100 campuses through “Hasbara Fellowships,” which facilitate these students’ travel to Israel, preps them for defending Israel from criticism on their campuses, and pays them to carry out pro-Israel and Islamophobic activism on campus (for example, combatting campus divestment initiatives of UC Berkeley and Brooklyn College).</p> <p>The Clarion Fund (now the Clarion Project) which produced notorious Islamophobic films, such as Obsession, Iranium, and The Third Jihad was registered with IRS by three employees of Aish Hatorah and the address listed was an Aish Hatorah office in New York. Much of the funding for this came through and \$18,000,000 grant from Donors Capital in 2008. Clarion also receives significant funding from the Moskowitz Foundation and the Becker Foundation.</p>	<p>American Friends of Yeshiva (\$13,152,138), The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation (\$536,000), The Milstein Family Foundation (\$159,000), Combined Jewish Philanthropies (\$26,750), Fairbrook Foundation (\$14,000), Jewish Community Foundation LA (\$241,691), Paul E. Singer Foundation (\$325,000), Jewish Federation of Greater Washington [DC] (\$37,500).</p>	<p>Revenue: \$5,663,847 (2012)</p>
Amcha Initiative www.amchainitiative.org	<p>Strategically targets campuses considered “hubs & catalysts” (of and for pro-Palestine activism) for backlash through the use of Islamophobic propaganda (accusing students and faculty of “Islamicism” and “support for terrorists”) and false claims of antisemitism; has especially targeted CA campuses, notably through the cynical exploitation of Title VI civil rights legislation to repress pro-Palestine activism on campuses. Has gone so far as to literally partner with the Jewish National Fund, the parastatal institution which effectively controls 92 percent of Israeli land.</p>	<p>MZ Institute (\$1,000), Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco (\$100,000), Helen Diller Family Foundation (\$10,000), Schwab Charitable Fund (\$26,575)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$347,501 (2014)</p> <p>Assets: \$211,601</p>

Organization	Backlash Activities	Who Funds Them [selected] (amount since 2010)	Income/ Assets
American Friends of Reut Institute www.friendsofreut.com	<p>The financial sponsor of the Reut Institute, through which political activities are conducted, including: propagating the discourse that the biggest threat to Israel is from an emerging “delegitimization network,” a catchall for any activity deemed to undermine support for Israel – from human rights advocacy to BDS campaigns to campus-based educational efforts; encourages divide and conquer strategy by encouraging sabotage of “delegitimizers” but engagement with “soft critics”; promotes “Brand Israel” propaganda.</p>	<p>Russell Berrie Foundation (\$582,917), Koret (\$10,000), Klarman Family Foundation (\$125,000), The Jacobson Family Trust Foundation (\$110,000), Schusterman Family Foundation (\$170,000), MZ Foundation (\$50,000)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$1,626,118 (2012)</p>
Louis D. Brandeis Center www.brandeiscenter.com	<p>Monitors campus activism around the United States and targets pro-Palestine activism with false claims of antisemitism, and has lawyers to threaten legal action if it is deemed strategically useful; has been a lead in the cynical exploitation of Title VI civil rights legislation against pro-Palestine activism at Rutgers and Northeastern; their most recent strategy is to set up chapters [for recruitment? Monitoring? Legal action?] in every law school in the country, expanding upon the six law school groups they already fund; a project of Kenneth Marcus (President and General Consul of Brandeis, and former staff director at the US Commission on Civil Rights, the governmental body responsible for responding to Title VI), who has openly bragged about instilling fear in pro-Palestine activists.</p>	<p>Koret (\$20,000), Middle East Forum (\$51,000), Jewish Communal Fund of New York (\$30,000), Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco (\$25,000), MZ Foundation (\$25,000)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$351,913 (2013)</p>
Christians United for Israel (CUFI) www.cufi.org	<p>A project of the antisemitic Pastor John Hagee, who has claimed that it was “the disobedience and rebellion of the Jews...to their covenantal responsibility to serve only the one true God...[which] had birthed the seed of anti-Semitism that would arise and bring destruction to them for centuries to come.” It serves as umbrella organization to many other Christian Zionist Groups, including Institute for Black Solidarity with Israel; serves as an intermediary to a variety of other Christian Zionist groups; runs an intern program which funds Christian Zionist activism on campuses; Prime Minister Netanyahu was recently featured as a guest speaker at a CUFI conference.</p>	<p>Adelson Foundation (\$25,000), Becker Foundation – JCF (\$135,000), MZ Foundation (\$100,000), Donors Capital (\$442,000 – 2007/08)</p>	<p>[There is very limited financial information accessible on CUFI because it cynically claims to be a church, and therefore does not have to file a 990 with IRS]</p>

Organization	Backlash Activities	Who Funds Them [selected] (amount since 2010)	Income/ Assets
The David Project www.davidproject.org	<p>Founded by Charles Jacobs, also the founder of CAMERA (Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America); notably attacked the Columbia University Professor Joseph Massad with a defamatory video, “Columbia Unbecoming,” in which students were sent in with cameras to videotape their professor in an attempt to incriminate him; successfully convinced Harvard University to refuse a \$5 million dollar donation from an Arab Emirati for an endowed chair in Islamic studies; organized against the construction of the Islamic Society of Boston Cultural Center, to block the construction of a mosque in Boston, a campaign which became the model for the subsequent campaign against the so-called “Ground Zero Mosque,” and for which they were subsequently sued; following lawsuit fired Charles Jacobs and shifted towards a “soft” campus strategy – they fund large numbers of campus interns, write policy papers (their “White Paper” is in many respects the American version of Reut Institute Report), and provide various tools for Zionist activism on campuses (e.g. “The 10 Habits of Highly Effective Israel Advocates”); Charles Jacobs continues to target pro-Palestine activism on campuses through other organizational channels.</p>	<p>Klarman Family Foundation (\$1,836,000), Hertog Foundation (\$50,000), Paul E. Singer Foundation (\$500,000)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$2,824,763 (2012)</p> <p>Assets: \$3,342,732</p>
Hillels on Campuses <i>(see pull-out box below)</i> www.hillel.org	<p>One of the most important organizational channels for pro-Israel advocacy and Zionist backlash on campus; while Hillel did not begin as a Zionist advocacy organization, it moved in this direction after 1967, and especially after the second intifada, with notable financial support from the Schusterman Foundation, which remains their largest funder; the most important recruitment channel for Hasbara Fellows; the most important campus group for pro-Israel events, pro-Israel propaganda, Birthright trip promotion, and so forth; also the locus of claims from Jewish students “feeling unsafe” on campus due to pro-Palestine activism; Hillel’s have recently experienced criticism through the “Open Hillel” initiative, which is demanding that Hillel not exclude students and viewpoints critical of Israel and Zionism from their campus work.</p>	<p>Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation (\$4,204,980), Combined Jewish Philanthropies (\$3,024,494), Klarman Family Foundation (\$175,000), MZ Foundation (\$52,220), Russell Berrie Foundation (\$775,000), Koret Foundation (\$781,750), Hertog Foundation (\$5,000), Jewish Community Foundation, L.A. (\$486,270), Paul E. Singer Foundation (\$100,000), Jewish Federation of Greater Washington DC (\$131,518)</p>	<p>Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Life on Campus [umbrella foundation]</p> <p>Revenue: 27,903,405 (2013)</p> <p>Assets: \$38,889,191</p> <p>Berkeley Hillel (as an example)</p> <p>Revenue: \$1,061,467 (2012)</p> <p>Assets: \$1,079,528</p>

Organization	Backlash Activities	Who Funds Them [selected] (amount since 2010)	Income/ Assets
The Israel Project www.theisraelproject.org	<p>A very well-funded PR group for Israel, a right-wing parastatal organization. One of the Zionist organizations dedicated to promoting “Brand Israel,” or remaking Israel’s public image to counter growing international criticism; produces The Tower publication; promotes Zionism on campuses through media internships, and by offering strategic tools for Hasbara fellows on campus; inculcates journalists with Zionist ideology through helicopter tours of Palestine, in which journalists from over 300 media outlets have participated; In February 2014 when news of the forced sterilization of Ethiopian Jews broke they tried to repair Israel’s image by releasing a propaganda packet about how happy Sephardic Jews are in Israel. Their job is to confuse people about any negative claims in the press about Israel.</p>	<p>The Feldman Foundation (\$100,000), Herman Dana Charitable Trust (\$125,000), Circle of Service Foundation (\$902,154), Koret Foundation (\$50,000), Jewish Funders Network (\$150,000), Jewish Communal Fund (\$1,130,380), Klarman Family Foundation (\$3,394,000), Becker Foundation (175,000)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$5,901,857 (2012)</p> <p>Assets: \$4,739,665</p>
Jewish Community Relations Councils/ Jewish Council for Public Affairs www.jcrc.org and www.jewishpublicaffairs.org	<p>A group that claims to represent the Jewish community whose staff and resources primarily focus on defending Israel and attacking those who express solidarity with Palestine. JCRC has 125 chapters in the United States and functions as local public affairs organizations operating under the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) umbrella organization. JCPA partnered with the Jewish Federation in creating the Israel Action Network, founded with \$6 million dollars to combat “delegitimization” of Israel. JCRC itself provided all of the seed money for the Brandeis Center for Human Rights. They are well known for their attacks on grassroots organizations that express solidarity with Palestine and have attempted to defund organizations such as San Francisco Women Against Rape – a rape crisis center serving communities of color in the wider San Francisco Bay Area. In all cases they approach public funders (usually state contractors) to threaten to take much needed and valued resources from communities in need of them unless they retract solidarity statements and express support for Israel.</p> <p>The Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) is a national umbrella organization aimed at facilitating strategic collaboration of fourteen national and 125 local independent collaborator organizations, generically termed Jewish Community Relations Councils (JCRC), on the promotion of Zionist ideology and support for Israel, and the national backlash strategy against pro-Palestine movement building.</p>	<p>Funders of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs: The Nathan Cummings Foundation (\$295,000), Righteous Persons Foundations (\$50,000), Becker Charitable Trust (\$10,000)</p> <p>Funders of the JCRC of San Francisco [as one illustrative example—there are 125 chapters across the US]: Lisa and Douglas Goldman Fund (\$515,500), Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco (\$1,553,735), Walter and Elsie Haas Foundation (\$375,000), Pritzker Family Fund (\$81,800), Tauber Family Foundation (\$307,500), Feldman Family Foundation (\$275,000)</p>	<p>JCPA</p> <p>Revenue: \$2,768,840 (2011)</p> <p>Assets: \$1,186,076</p> <p>JCRC (SF)</p> <p>Revenue: \$3,963,233 (2012)</p>

Organization	Backlash Activities	Who Funds Them [selected] (amount since 2010)	Income/ Assets
Israel on Campus Coalition www.israelcc.org	<p>The president of the board of the ICC is Tina Price, who serves as a Vice Chair of Hillel International, and sits on the board of UJA-Federation of New York. The secretary is Lisa Eisen, who is National Director of the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation. Other board members include Adam Milstein, the West Coast chair. He is a partner in a properties firm, and sits on the boards of Stand With Us, Hasbara Fellowships and the AIPAC National Council. Another board member is Stacy Schusterman, the Chairman and CEO of Samson Energy Company, and one of the directors of the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation. She is also on the AIPAC Board of Directors.</p> <p>The ICC supports a variety of on-campus Zionist activities, including grants to support events as well as Grinspoon Morningstar Fellows, who receive year-round leadership and advocacy training, as well as a mentoring and a stipend to support on campus anti-Palestinian activity. ICC also works systematically to support Zionist activity throughout the campus, offering guidance to both graduate and undergraduate students as well as campus professionals, and on to administrators and faculty. It also serves as an umbrella for a great many Zionist organizations, including the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the American Jewish Congress, Americans for Peace Now (APN), Anti-Defamation League (ADL) Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA), and the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation.</p>	<p>Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation (\$2,182,500), Marcus Foundation (\$400,000), The Gottesman Fund (\$51,500), Becker Foundation (\$35,000), Klarman Family Foundation (\$100,000)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$1,158,638 (2012)</p> <p>Assets: \$919,715</p>
Stand With Us www.standwithus.com	<p>A project of Roz Rothstein. They're a West Coast organization, now starting to branch out across the country. Almost entirely focused on campuses. They also were part of the Olympia Coop boycott litigation along with the ZOA and the Lawfare project. They boast that they are a grassroots organization but the vast majority (over 80 percent) of their money comes from Les Wexner who is the founder of Victoria's Secret. He has set up three different foundations who have each made 50+ donations of 30,000 to Stand with Us – to feign the appearance of a broader funding base.</p>	<p>Koret Foundation (\$95,000), Klarman Family Foundation (\$125,000), Marcus Foundation (\$100,000), Rosalind and Arthur Gilbert Foundation (\$35,000), Skirball Foundation (\$90,000), Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco (\$1,129,030), Leichtag Foundation (\$52,000), Susan & Leonard Feinstein Foundation (\$50,000), Becker Foundation (\$250,000)</p>	<p>Revenue: \$8,716,377 (2012)</p> <p>Assets: \$5,897,179</p>

Organization	Backlash Activities	Who Funds Them [selected] (amount since 2010)	Income/ Assets
The Lawfare Project www.thelawfareproject.org	A project spearheaded by Brooke Goldstein, with only one support staffer. Whether through propaganda or support for actual legal campaigns, they use a legal orientation to carry forward Zionist backlash, principally through false claims of anti-Semitism. One event sponsored by The Lawfare Project referred to Richard Goldstone and human rights groups were compared to “anti-Semitic street gangs.” They have close connections with high level Israeli officials, such as UN Ambassador Gabriela Shalev, and have attacked organizations ranging from Human Rights Watch to the Center for Constitutional Rights. They also have interns - interns including Chloe Valdary, who authored “the Students of Justice in Palestine: A Letter from an Angry Black Woman” – and offer fellowships.	MZ Foundation: (\$25,000), Jewish Federation of SF (\$40,000), Jewish Communal Fund (\$16,000), MZ Foundation (\$75,000), Sherit Isroel (\$38,000), Jewish Community Foundation of San Diego (\$20,000)	Revenue: \$289,603 (2013)
Simon Wiesenthal Center www.wiesenthal.com	Uses the Nazi genocide to justify the silencing of Palestinian activists and restrict academic freedom and to fuel Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism. SWC is visited by tens of thousands of elementary, middle and high school students in the United States every year to provide “anti-genocide,” “anti-bigotry” education. Notably missing in their coverage is the Armenian genocide, per Israel’s alliance with Turkey, and the Palestinian experience of ethnic cleansing. Moreover, they explicitly promote anti-Muslim fear and hate mongering in their educational programs, implying that Islamist terrorism is one of the greatest threats to the safety of U.S. citizens. Almost all of the money they invest in backlash funds their Campus Outreach Initiative through which pay students to be propaganda (Hasbara) activists – promoting pro-Israel views on campus and using the Nazi genocide and false claims of antisemitism to justify the colonization of Palestine. SWC collaborates on letters to public officials and administrations targeting pro-Palestinian students and faculty on campus.	Leichtag Foundation (\$1,050,213), David and Fela Shapell Family Foundation (\$400,000), Blum Family Foundation (\$361,000), Wells Fargo Foundation (\$450,000), Snider Foundation (\$350,000), Rowland and Sylvia Schaefer Foundation (\$169,676), Annenberg Foundation (\$50,000), Paulson Family Foundation (\$50,000), Grove Foundation (\$150,000), Alan I Casden Foundation (\$115,000)	Revenue: \$23,754,251 (2013) Assets: \$72,283,842
Zionist Organization of America www.zoa.org	A far-right organization started by Morgan Klein. They have their own legal wing. They have a center for law run by Susan B. Puchman. She has sent many letters to universities threatening lawsuits for making Jewish students feel “uncomfortable.” Very active in combating BDS. They also lobby politicians. Has a fellowship called the Schulman fellowship for recent college grads. They are given a geographic location and their job is to counter pro-Palestinian activism in their region. Named after Robert Shillman, the largest donor to Northeastern University (a reason they cracked down so much at Northeastern).	Adleson Family Foundation (\$1,024,550), MZ Foundation (\$10,000), Abstraction Fund (\$22,000), Becker Foundation (\$175,000), Fairbrook Foundation (\$985,000), Klarman Foundation (\$1,060,000), Irving I. Moskowitz Foundation (\$200,000), Koret Foundation (\$12,500), Jewish Federation of Greater Washington [D.C.] (\$50,503) Revenue: \$14,545,044 (2013)	Assets: \$13,383,057 Hadassah-Revenue: \$46,171,164 (2012) Assets: \$136,346,378

Hillel International

Hillel is a special case in regards to campus backlash and therefore deserves more focus. Hillel International receives money directly from many of the large foundations profiled in the previous section. This includes over \$1.5 million from the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation in 2011 and in 2012. Hillel International then channels this money to local Hillel Chapters which also get funding directly from these same foundations. This includes \$1.5 million distributed to local Hillel chapters by the Combined Jewish Philanthropies Foundation in 2010 and in 2011. Additionally, the Koret and Russell Berrie foundations and Jewish Community Foundation of LA gave hundreds of thousands a year in 2010, 2011 and 2012; with Jewish Federations giving tens of thousands to local chapters annually as well.

Hillels operate as watchdogs of Palestinian and solidarity activists. They promote pro-Israel propaganda and attack BDS organizing on campus. They are the most consistent and one of the best positioned backlash organizations on campuses across the United States and operate under the guise of being student-run organizations for Jewish life on campus. In reality, in the past decade, the key activities of Hillel have been driven by the national office, sometimes even staffed by non-university-paid staff, and focused on censorship of and attacks on any criticism of Israel as well as pro-Palestinian organizing by students and objective teaching on Palestine by faculty.

Frustrated that Hillel does not reflect or welcome the spectrum of opinion on Israel by Jewish students, or perhaps even the majority of Jewish student opinion, recently there has been a student movement to create Open Hillel chapters. This effort is an attempt to create a Jewish student organization that reflects a liberal Zionist to non-Zionist to anti-Zionist point of view. The hope is that such a movement will expose the traditional Hillel chapters as counter to student autonomy – driven by the agenda of its national headquarters and the backlash networks of which Hillel is a part and funded by – and increasingly reflecting a minority of Jewish student views on Palestine.

The Zionist organizations listed produce, fund and write for various media outlets that police pro-Palestine activity and contribute to smear campaigns against student organizers and pro-Palestine faculty. Far from being quality, investigative journalism outlets, these media outlets have been created to produce and disseminate misinformation on Palestine, obscure the facts concerning Israel, and defame and smear those who criticize Israel or express solidarity with Palestine. Each source recycles the other's misinformation and propaganda, and they then serve as vehicles for the organizations and political pundits that fund and founded them. They give the appearance of public opinion when in fact they are, as with the backlash network itself, a small, highly coordinated, overlapping network of media outlets working in tandem with the network of backlash organizations.

TABLE OF ZIONIST MEDIA OUTLETS

Media Outlet	Backlash Activities/Role	Who Funds Them
American Thinker www.americanthinker.com	Supports anti-choice activism on campus, denies climate change, promotes Islamophobic hate speech, advocates for border militarization, mocks LGBT students, promotes incarceration of people with mental illness and “war on terror” fear-mongering. Participates in slander against SJP – such as referring to the work of SJP Columbia as “stealth jihad”. They describe their focus as: “National security in all its dimensions -- strategic, economic, diplomatic, and military -- is emphasized. The right to exist and the survival of the State of Israel are of great importance to us.” Pamela Geller features on the publication.	Campus Watch and Rush Limbaugh have been cited as two of the funders.
Atlas Shrugs (Pam Geller) https://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com	Atlas Shrugs is the mouthpiece of Pamela Geller, President of the American Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI) and Stop Islamization of America (SIOA). Geller is a reactionary anti-Muslim bigot who promotes a conservative and Islamophobic agenda. She has funded a series of anti-Muslim ads on buses around the US, referring to Muslims as “savage” and comparing Islam to Nazism. In 2010 she spearheaded a campaign to shut down Park51, an Islamic community center in lower Manhattan, inspiring anti-Muslim protests at Mosques and cultural centers around the U.S.	While Atlas Shrugs is Pamela Geller's personal blog, it is enabled by the Islamophobia network which includes funding to American Freedom Defense Initiative, the David Horowitz Freedom Center, Jihad Watch, and Stop Islamization of America (all of which share resources with each other and receive millions of dollars from the major foundations highlighted in this report).
CAMERA www.camera.org	The Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA) is an organization ostensibly dedicated to “fact checking” mainstream media coverage of Israel. In reality it is an Islamophobic watchdog organization that bullies media outlets into producing pro-Israel coverage. In 2013 they led a campaign to remove the names of two Palestinian journalists from an event honoring journalists killed in the line of duty at the Newseum in Washington DC.	Abstraction Fund: \$143,420 (2009-2012) Becker: \$60,000 (2009-2011); Becker – Jewish Community Foundation: \$245,000 (2008-2012) Combined Jewish Philanthropies: \$97,480 (2011) Donors Capital: \$750,000 (2007-2011) Fairbrook: \$75,000 from (2008-2010) Gotham Charitable Trust: \$170,000 (2008-2012) Jewish Community Foundation of LA: \$12,650 (2010) Klarman Family: \$1,115,00 (2008-2012) Koret: \$10,000 (2012) Middle East Forum: \$81,00 (2008-2012) MZ Foundation: \$75,000 (2013)

Media Outlet	Backlash Activities/Role	Who Funds Them
Commentary Magazine (Klarman) www.commentarymagazine.com	Mouthpiece of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), a conservative Zionist organization dedicated to strengthening the U.S.-Israel relationship and promoting Israel's image internationally. The AJC sponsors propaganda tours of Israel for foreign diplomats, intended to boost Israel's image and international standing. Commentary and the AJC regularly attack organizations and public figures whose stance is not sufficiently pro-Israel. In the recent past this has included the UN Human Rights Council, Amnesty International, Jewish Voice for Peace, the African National Congress, the Turkish Prime Minister, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Presbyterian Church. In 2006 AJC published a report called "Progressive Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism," which attacks progressive Jews as "the new anti-Semites."	Allegheny Foundation: \$400,000 (2005-2010) Bradley: \$3,170,000 (2003-2012) Koret: \$140,000 (2003-2012) Sarah Scaife: \$2,700,000 (2003-2012) Snider Foundation: \$324,027 (2008-2011) Weinberg Foundation: \$605,000 (2003-2012) Wood Claeysens: \$215,000 (2008-2012)
Israel National News/ Arutz Sheva www.israelnationalnews.com	A hawkish Zionist "news" source that demonizes Palestinians, minimizes or denies Palestinian suffering and attacks Palestinian activists and their supporters. Religious Zionism is given a strong voice through the INN, which refuses to acknowledge the existence of the Palestinian territories, using the biblical names of Judea and Samaria when referring to the West Bank. They consistently attack critics of Israel, including the Students for Justice in Palestine, who they have labeled "anti-Semitic." Arutz Sheva serves as a mouthpiece of the settler movement and is run out of the settlement of Beit El.	Money for the publication is laundered through the U.S. non-profit American Friends of Bet El Yeshiva Jewish Communal Fund: \$23,753 (2012) Greater Miami Jewish Federation: \$10,000 (2012) Jewish Federation of Northern New Jersey: \$20,000 Irving I. Moskowitz Foundation: \$325,000 (2009-2011)
Jewish News Service (Katzen) www.jns.org	A conservative "news" outlet launched in 2011 by Joshua Katzen. Katzen serves on the board of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, a conservative lobby group funded by settlement mogul Irving Moskowitz, Friends of the IDF, two American military charities, and a major U.S. defense contractor. The organization also funds the Law Enforcement Exchange Program, which brings US law enforcement officials to be trained by Israeli military personnel. The Treasurer, Amelia Katzen, wife of Joshua Katzen, directs CAMERA, an Islamophobic Zionist media watchdog organization. Katzen is vice chairman of the National Board of Governors of Middle East Forum. Publisher of JNS Russell Pergament says, "JNS is a nonpartisan, objective, straight down the middle newswire with no axe to grind except one: to see that Israel gets a fair shake in the news."	Koret Foundation: \$10,000 (2012) Middle East Forum \$30,000 (2013) Hellen Diller Family Foundation: \$10,000 (2013)

Media Outlet	Backlash Activities/Role	Who Funds Them
Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) www.jta.org	A mainstream mass media institution, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) is not overtly involved in backlash. However, given that the JTA is one of the key media outlets through which the realities of Israeli colonialism and the Palestinian liberation struggle are filtered for the consumption of U.S. and European audiences, the liberal Zionist cast of its reporting plays an important role in creating the political context in which backlash operates.	Haas Fund: \$140,000 (2006-2008) Koret Foundation: \$160,000 (2006-2008) Nash Family Foundation: \$66,000 (2005-2012) Revson Foundation: \$50,000 (2009) Russell Memorial: \$50,000 (2004-2011) Schusterman: \$71,605 (2009-2012) Smart Family Foundation: \$75,000 (2009-2010) Weinberg Foundation: \$50,000 (2011-2012) Wilf Foundation: \$62,000 (2003-2011)
Orbis Journal fpri.org/orbis	Journal of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, a hawkish right wing think tank that works on developing U.S. military strategy, strengthening imperialist intervention overseas and surveillance and repression at home.	Daniel Pipes vehicle. Annenberg: \$1,125,000 (2004-2009) Bradley Foundation: \$700,000 (2003-2012) Kauffman Foundation: \$250,000 (2007) Richardson Foundation: \$855,332 (2003-2011) Sarah Scaife Foundation: \$155,000 (2005-2008)
PJ Media—formerly Pajamas Media (Chernicks) www.pjmedia.com	Right wing blog spreading conservative, Islamophobic, anti-feminist and pro-Tea Party propaganda. Actively opposed the construction of the Park51 Islamic community center in lower Manhattan. Financed by Aubrey Chernicks, founder and director of the Fairbrook Foundation, which has given nearly \$1.5 million to anti-Muslim causes including Jihad Watch, the David Horowitz Freedom Center, ACT! For America, the Center for Security Policy, the Investigative Project on Terrorism, and the Middle East Forum.	Aubrey Chernick was the “Angel Donor” behind Pajamas Media, gathering \$3,500,000 to help launch the company. ¹⁶⁸
Tablet www.tabletmag.com	Zionist news site. The president and vice-president of Tablet’s board are Arthur Fried and Mem Bernstein, who also serve on the board of the Tikvah Fund, a right wing grant making foundation that funds the neoconservative Zionist think tank the Shalem Center.	Jewish Communal Fund [seemingly the sole funder]: \$11,098,000 (2009-2012) [funding listed is for Nextbook which in addition to Tablet, publishes books through Nextbook Press ¹⁶⁹]

Media Outlet	Backlash Activities/Role	Who Funds Them
Times of Israel (Klarman) www.timesofisrael.com	Zionist news source founded by David Horowitz and funded by Seth Klarman. Klarman is a wealthy conservative philanthropist whose family foundation funds a slew of right wing Zionist organizations, including the David Project, which works to suppress Palestine solidarity organizing on campuses across the US. Klarman also funds the Israel Project, which supports sanctions on Iran and promotes Israeli settlement expansion, and the Friends of Ir David Inc, which is supporting a wave of settlement expansion and Palestinian displacement in the Silwan neighborhood of East Jerusalem. He has also funded Birthright Israel, the American Jewish Committee, the pro-war Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, and several Zionist think tanks, including the Middle East Research Institute and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. For more information on Times of Israel founder David Horowitz see the entry on Front Page Magazine. It has twice been forced to apologize for posting genocidal op-eds: http://www.salon.com/2014/08/01/genocide_is_permmissible_according_to_insane_times_of_israel_op_ed/	Klarman and Horowitz are the sole donors to this for-profit media enterprise. When asked, they declined to specify the amount invested.
Watchdog Wire (Koch) www.watchdogwire.com	A “citizen-journalist” and “media watchdog” project of the Franklin Center, funded by Charles and David Koch. The Koch brothers made their fortunes in crude oil refinement, and have a combined net worth 8.4 billion dollars. When counted together they are the wealthiest family in the world, surpassing Bill Gates at \$77.8 billion. The Koch brothers have funded libertarian and conservative think tanks, made major contributions to Republican candidates, and lobbied against universal healthcare and climate change legislation. According to Greenpeace they have given \$31.3 million since 2005 to organizations that deny or downplay climate change. Funded by the Franklin Center which gets 95 percent of its funding from Donors Trust, which is funded by the Koch Brothers.	The Bradley Foundation: \$480,500 (2010-2012) Dunn’s Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking: \$155,000 (2010-2012)
The Jewish Advocate www.thejewishadvocate.com	A Zionist publication founded in 1902 by Jacob deHass, executive secretary to Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism. The paper was founded to propagate and advance the then nascent cause of political Zionism. DeHass went on to direct the Zionist Organization of America. The newspaper he founded continues to promote and defend Zionism to this day.	We were unable to retrieve financial information about the Jewish Advocate.
Truth Revolt (Shapiro and Horowitz) www.truthrevolt.org	Right wing blog founded by Ben Shapiro and David Horowitz. The blog repeatedly attacks BDS activists, particularly the Students for Justice in Palestine. Ben Shapiro is a right wing author and political commentator who has written several books decrying the leftist conspiracy of Hollywood media. He is also an avid Zionist who has advocated the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank. For more information on David Horowitz see the entry on Front Page Magazine.	See Front Page Magazine – Truth Revolt is a blog featuring David Horowitz and is such is most likely funded via the David Horowitz Freedom Center. No separate information was available.

Media Outlet	Backlash Activities/Role	Who Funds Them
Legal Insurrection (Jacobson) www.legalinsurrection.com	Right wing blog run by William A. Jacobson, a lawyer, professor and conservative pundit. Jacobson consistently attacks Palestine solidarity activists, particularly those advocating BDS. In January of 2014 he led a campaign against the American Studies Association, filing a claim with the IRS challenging their tax exempt status after their national council voted to endorse the academic boycott of Israel.	No financial information was available on Legal Insurrection.
Breitbart News www.breitbart.com	Reactionary right wing “news” blog founded by Andrew Breitbart, a conservative writer and commentator and active Tea Party supporter. He led campaigns against the NAACP and ACORN, deliberately misrepresenting their members’ words and actions in order to smear their organizational reputation. His attacks on ACORN, a major national housing justice nonprofit, led to criminal investigations and eventually the group’s demise. He repeatedly attacked Palestine solidarity activists, the Occupy movement, and other progressive causes. While Breitbart died in 2012, the news site he founded carries on his legacy of bigotry and misinformation. Breitbart News is strongly Zionist, hosting Zionist writers and regularly attacking SJP students.	Breitbart News raised \$10,000,000 in capital from two unnamed donors in 2011.
Algemeiner www.algemeiner.com	A New York based Zionist news outlet. Its advisory board is chaired by Elie Wiesel, a Zionist author and activist who has advocated for settlement expansion in East Jerusalem. He currently serves as the chairman of the David Foundation, which is expanding illegal settlements and evicting Palestinian residents in the Silwan neighborhood of East Jerusalem.	Algemeiner is funded by the Gershon Jacob Jewish Continuity Fund. We were only able to identify limited financial contributions to the GJCF which do not reveal the full funding of the organization or Algemeiner.

TACTICS OF THE ZIONIST BACKLASH NETWORK

I am fairly confident that my speech did cause some, perhaps many, people to be much more hesitant about supporting divestiture and the like. Not principally because they were persuaded but because they did not want to be embroiled in controversy. I have to say this was a feature not a bug. It was my intent and effect.

~ Larry Summers, comments on divestment efforts against Israel, from Academic Freedom and Anti-Semitism Remarks, Columbia Center for Law and Liberty January 29, 2015

The backlash network deploys a number of tactics in order to further its goals. The common thread is to go on the offensive against criticism of Israel and to contribute to creating the atmosphere of fear in which further repression and censorship become possible. Their goal is to smother criticism of Israel before it acquires a popular character, capable of changing the political debate and mobilizing political activity on a wider scale.

These tactics are described below. They include lawfare, a Zionist tactic designed to tie up Palestine solidarity activism in endless legal ropes, thereby preventing both the exercise of free speech as well as forcing activists to spend massive amounts of resources defending themselves in the legal arena. This sometimes includes attempts, successful and not, at criminal prosecution, particularly under “material support for terrorism” laws. Other tools include counter-organizing and co-opting of anti-racist, civil rights struggles, spying and surveillance, defamation and misinformation, attempts to divide the Palestinian struggle from other liberation struggles, and threatening the livelihoods of university faculty and their ability to teach as well as the ability of students to organize without fear of retaliation or expulsion.

1) Leveraging Title VI has been a critical plank in Zionist efforts to use existing legislation to limit free speech on campuses. Title VI was enacted as part of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. It prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance. The Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) worked for six years to place someone within the Department of Education’s (DOE) Office of Civil Rights (OCR) who could redefine criticism of Israeli policies as hate speech.

They first worked to expand Title VI to include protection of members of religious groups on the basis of shared ethnic characteristics. On the surface, this appeared to be a potentially useful development, particularly in the context of increased attacks and targeting of Muslim students. The ZOA then worked to define anti-Zionist speech or criticism of Israel as anti-Jewish discrimination – they claimed that such opinions are “threatening” to Jewish students, relying on a conflation between Jews and Zionism.¹⁷¹ They successfully got a DOE OCR memo defining antisemitism as specific types of criticisms of Israel adopted and then distributed to all public universities and colleges in the United States. Then the ZOA and the AMCHA Initiative used that ruling to go on the offensive. They brought Title VI complaints to campuses, threatening public funding if universities didn’t comply with the memo. They hoped that the threat would silence the speech of students who expressed criticism of Israel, prevent them from bringing speakers – including Jewish speakers who expressed criticism – and stop students from organizing BDS campaigns. Meanwhile, the actual attacks and targeted backlash that Muslim and Palestinian students are facing received no increased oversight or penalty. In fact, false claims of antisemitism against students and faculty expressing criticism of Israel specifically target and have had the most severe consequences for Muslim and Palestinian students.

Despite the memo, such efforts to use Title VI to silence criticism of Israel have almost uniformly

failed whenever they were advanced, particularly at the University of California and Rutgers.¹⁷² Indeed, after thorough investigations that extracted significant resources and time from the DOE and those defending the students and universities under attack, the DOE's OCR rejected outright the baseless ZOA and Amcha complaints. It also rejected a series of lawsuits on the UC campuses. This does not mean that the Zionist organizations have given up on Title VI complaints. Rather, they have shifted from the sphere of official actions to informal complaints and grievance procedures. For example, at Florida Atlantic University, the local SJP posted mock eviction notices on dorm rooms and elevators. The ZOA leaned on Title VI to pressure the administration to take stronger action against the students simply by referring it, thereby avoiding the DOE OCR complaint process which had led to their earlier defeats.

2) Legislating censorship of criticism through defining certain criticisms of Israel as antisemitism. Such prohibitions on speech are then tied directly to the distribution of public funds. Institutions which allow speech that legislation defines as antisemitic can find their funding threatened or revoked. AIPAC and the ADL are major proponents of this kind of muzzling. The defeated State Assembly resolution HR 35 in California was an attempt to shut down Palestinian and Palestine solidarity organizing off and on campus through censoring criticisms of Israel's ethnic cleansing or genocide of Palestinians, the Jewish-only nature of the State of Israel, the Israeli colonization of Palestine as racist, and many other criticisms. It demanded that UC administrators take steps to stop such criticism, punish students who express or organize in response to it, and issue condemnations of events and activities that are critical of Israel. Similarly, the recently passed H. Res 707, which AIPAC pushed through Congress, is another crucial piece of legislation. H. Res 707 seeks to legislate censorship against similar criticisms of Israel, including "comparing Israeli leaders to Nazis" or "accusing Israel of carrying out a 'holocaust' or 'genocide' against Palestinians." Several government bodies, including the New York State legislature, have likewise sought to criminalize BDS.

3) Lawsuits against BDS: Another example of lawfare was the retaliatory legal attack against the Board Members of the Olympia Food Co-op, which in 2010 became one of the first U.S. grocery stores to honor the boycott call. In 2011, five Zionist co-op members became plaintiffs in the first anti-BDS lawsuit. Investigative reporting revealed that StandWithUs and the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs had taken part in discussions about, and been given advance knowledge of, the lawsuit.¹⁷³ Many in our movement have inferred that they actively collaborated and perhaps even funded this lawsuit.

Despite the virulent character of the backlash against the boycott, local activists, co-op staff, owner-members, and board members continued to mobilize popular support. In addition to a strong media strategy – which included endorsements from public figures such as Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu and Naomi Klein – local activists organized teach-ins, demonstrations, and even a successful co-op board election campaign with record member participation, following an attempt by Zionist opposition to stack the board with anti-boycott candidates. Local organizers worked hard to build a popular strategy that would complement the legal defense, thereby creating a political context in which legal support could operate effectively.

In a defense strategy led by the Center for Constitutional Rights and the law firm Davis Wright Tremaine, a judge dismissed the lawsuit in 2012 under Washington State's anti-SLAPP law, finding the case was a "Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation" (SLAPP). This was one of the first U.S. counter-lawfare victories secured by the Palestine solidarity movement. The plaintiffs did not merely lose the suit, but were ordered to pay money to the Co-op's Board Members for damages. The plaintiffs appealed, and lost, and then appealed again to the Washington Supreme Court, where the case is pending.

This example shows the intersection of non-governmental organizations and the Israeli government in targeting resistance to Israeli actions. It is also an example of successful pushback against those actions, using legislation intended to protect freedom of speech from censorship by elite interests and the state. In the background of this lawsuit was Olympia, Washington's strong record of promoting

Palestinian rights and the Palestinian struggle: it was the hometown of Rachel Corrie, who Israel murdered in the Gaza Strip in 2003. This suggests that a favorable political climate and base of grassroots support can increase the likelihood of free speech laws being used to protect those fighting against injustice rather than those committing it.¹⁷⁴

4) Material Support Legislation: Material support legislation has created lists of so-called “terrorist organizations,” which are barred from receiving monetary or other material support from people in the United States under threat of prosecution and incarceration. Indeed, even sending a book about non-violence and urging a group on the list of “terrorist organizations” to engage in pacifism could be construed as “material support” of terrorism. There is a great lack of clarity on what the government construes as “material support” – indeed, most “material support” prosecutions have targeted individuals or groups who were not violating the material support statutes under any reasonable interpretation of them. And for that reason, this type of lawfare has swiftly become one of the most virulent and dangerous tactics. For the “Terror Lists” do not merely outlaw the direct provision of material aid to the political groups which the government decides to place onto its list, “material support” has been extended to any collaboration with an organization or individual on the list – including humanitarian aid, BDS campaigns, public awareness campaigns, and other activities historically protected by the First amendment.

[My father, Ghassan Elashi] is an American citizen from Gaza City, who before his imprisonment, took part in the immigration rally in Downtown Dallas, joining the half a million people wearing white, chanting ¡Si, se puede! The prison walls have not hindered his voice, as he writes to me, heartbroken about the homes destroyed during the earthquake in Haiti, the young protesters killed indiscriminately in Syria, the children lost to the famine in Somalia. Most frequently, he writes to me about the Japanese-American internment.

~Noor Elashi, daughter of Ghassan

The “terror lists” are also used to create an atmosphere where there are constant attempts to link individuals to acts which can then be described – or misdescribed – as material support of “terrorism.” Once linked to “terrorism” – a potent accusation in a political environment in which Islamophobia and anti-Arab, anti-Muslim racism is epidemic, individuals are placed “beyond the pale” of support. One of the most egregious examples is the Holy Land Foundation whose five board members have already served five years of long-term sentences, up to and including life, for donating to the same charity committees in the Gaza Strip to which USAID, the government-funded aid program, had given funds.¹⁷⁵ As of 2010, they have been held in one of two Communication Management Unit in the U.S. – a high security, highly secretive unit that houses “security threats” – often called “little Gitmo” (little Guantanamo) because of the terrible conditions and the holding of prisoners in solitary confinement.¹⁷⁶ The U.S. government has

since started to garnish the wages of the wife of one of the lead defendants, Ghassan Elashi, who is currently serving 65 years after what supporters believe was a politically motivated prosecution, in order to pay her husband’s mandatory “special assessment” fees (amounting to just over \$2900).¹⁷⁷ To date, the Supreme Court has rejected a review of the case. This case highlights the ways the U.S. government is using material support statutes as weapons to bludgeon, repress, and intimidate Palestinian activists.

Though most material support attacks have targeted Palestinian community leaders, professors and activists, they have also extended to those who support them. A clear example is Lynne Stewart, a radical human rights attorney who has devoted her life to taking on the state in defense of those who fight for their own liberation. She has defended the Black Panthers, the Weather Underground, and countless others deprived of their freedom and their rights in the United States. In 2002, Stewart was arrested and falsely accused of materially aiding terrorism on behalf of her Egyptian client, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman.¹⁷⁹ She served almost five years in federal prison. It was only after a mammoth public outcry and mobilization that she was set free on compassionate release on December 31, 2013 due to a terminal cancer diagnosis.¹⁸⁰

Of less severe consequence, but similarly intended to produce chilling effects, is the targeting of Professor Rabab Abdulhadi. She was accused of “misusing public funds” for a university-funded

delegation to Lebanon and Palestine, where she met with hundreds of members of Palestinian civil society in order to provide her colleagues from various Ethnic Studies departments with a broad view of the Palestinian movement. Among them were Leila Khaled, long-term member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Sheikh Raed Salah, a Palestinian citizen of Israel and a political and religious leader. She was also there to sign memoranda of understanding with Al-Najah University and Birzeit. The immediate reaction from the Amcha Initiative – which receives funding from the backlash network – was to accuse Abdulhadi of making connections with “terror universities” and meeting with “terrorists.” Such misrepresentations are intended to link Abdulhadi with “terrorism,” through a chain of images – Palestine, Islam, PFLP, and Terror.¹⁸¹ Despite SF State’s public declaration that all of the charges were without merit, Amcha coerced Abdulhadi’s university into auditing her trip and launched a media campaign against her and the Ethnic Studies program of which Abdulhadi’s program is a cornerstone.¹⁸² Though the charges were once again found to lack merit, they have taken tremendous time and resources from Professor Abdulhadi, her supporters, and the University administration.

5) False claims of antisemitism: A long-standing strategy of the Zionist movement is to equate Israel and Zionism with Jews and Judaism, and then denounce criticisms of Israel or Zionism as attacks on Jewish people or Judaism. Israel and the Zionist movement simultaneously promote the association of Jews with Israel, and then use the fact that Israel and Jews have become associated in popular imagination to claim that criticism of Israel is antisemitic. This blurring of the distinction between Jewish people and Israel is then used to claim that criticisms of Israel create an “unsafe” environment for Jews “threatened” by such criticism. In reality, the vast majority of criticism of Israel and Zionism is just that – criticism of the policies, practices and racist propaganda of a political movement and nation-state. One cannot imagine French students in the U.S. being able to get support behind a claim that criticism of France’s colonial regime in Algeria threatens their safety.

Off-campus, the Zionist equation of Jews and Israel is used to support legislation that attempts to ban BDS and political criticism of Israel. It’s also used to facilitate the previously mentioned transfer of Homeland Security funds to Jewish Zionist organizations to “defend” themselves against “antisemitism,” while fueling racist campaigns and propaganda that profile Muslim and Arab individuals, communities, organizations, and religious and cultural institutions.



The Holy Land Five are: Ghassan Elashi, co-founder and board chairman; Shukri Abu-Baker, president and CEO; Mohammad El-Mezain, co-founder and California HLF office representative; Mufid Abdulqader, volunteer fundraiser and Abdulrahman Odeh, New Jersey office HLF representative.¹⁷⁸

Historically, the Palestinian struggle, particularly the Palestinian left, and the vast majority of the Palestine solidarity movement, has held deeply rooted anti-racist beliefs and has rejected the misuse of the Palestinian struggle by bigots who would use it to promote racist ideas of all kinds, including antisemitism.¹⁸³ However, it should not be a surprise that after over one hundred years of an attempt by Zionists to reduce Jewish history and religious practice to the founding and maintenance of the State of Israel, that some people do confuse the self-proclaimed “Jewish State” with Jewish people generally. Needless to say, Israel, the U.S. government and pro-Israel groups and media outlets use this conflation of their own invention to further justify attacks against those who criticize Israel.

6) Spying and surveillance: The backlash network also extensively deploys student and faculty spies to surveil pro-Palestinian activists on campuses. This is the work of the Israel on Campus Coalition (ICC),

a national network of students, faculty, and professionals dedicated to strengthening the pro-Israel movement on campus. ICC champions a whole-campus approach, enlisting allies from every segment of the university community to create a positive climate for Israel on campus. ICC supports and empowers campus leaders, facilitates strategic collaboration among national pro-Israel groups, incubates innovative initiatives, and conducts cutting edge research to inform campus partners and the national pro-Israel community.

It does this through three mechanisms: 1) the ICC Academic Network that trains university professors and faculty “to advise, mentor and teach pro-Israel students and Hillel staff on various campus Israel issues;” 2) the provision of “solidarity grants” to faculty, professors and students that “support campus initiatives that demonstrate visible public support for the State of Israel;” and 3) the ICC Grinspoon Morningstar Fellowship, “which offers college students the opportunity to make an impact on their campuses through coalition building, research, civic engagement, and 360 degree” pro-Israel activism. In the last twelve years, the ICC has supported 477 student fellows on 117 campuses.

Many of the Zionist backlash organizations listed in the table on pages 56-62 use similar means of surveillance. Their spying came to light through a recent disclosure of documents in which a pro-Israel student spied on organizers and delegation members during a trip to Palestine organized by the Olive Tree Initiative. He went on to report back to the Amcha Initiative.¹⁸⁴ His report detailed the nature of the delegation, and included information on students identified as sympathetic to Palestinian rights. The report indicates that the student was tasked with building a case against the Olive Tree Initiative and individual students, as part of the growing fight by Zionist groups against BDS and campus-based Palestine solidarity organizing. The report includes names and private conversations between students, tour organizers, and Palestinian organizations, all were recorded and catalogued by Amcha, and possibly shared with other anti-Palestinian groups.¹⁸⁵

This case also revealed documents from the Investigative Taskforce on Campus Antisemitism (ITCA). These contain confidential reports on student activism, email correspondences, and files that look like a character assessment of students and activists. The ITCA documents reveal a focus on cataloging the names of Palestine solidarity activists, often from petitions, as well as from the flyers different Palestine solidarity groups use to advertise their events. They also include event reports, and focus on high-profile boycott activities like the 2013 American Studies Association academic boycott. The reports also show a pattern of recording the names of faculty. One document titled “National Association of American Indian and Indigenous Studies Council Members who Wrote the Declaration of Support for the Boycott of Israeli Academic Institutions,” holds a list of the names of the officers of the council alongside contact information as well as university affiliation. The papers contain reports on student activism and email correspondences, and files which include “character assessment[s] of students and activists,” as well as survey reports on Palestine solidarity events.¹⁸⁶

Such monitoring of faculty and students is not new. Joseph Massad, who was the target of an anti-Palestinian campaign backed by the David Project which sought to deny him tenure, recently confronted a student spying on his class. A student group at Columbia called Campus Media Watch,

with CAMERA behind it, broke university regulations and urged students to “report” on what it claimed were “biased utterances” by Massad. One student claimed – inaccurately – to be a registered student in Massad’s class, “Palestinian and Israeli Politics and Societies.” In some cases, students are even paid to monitor professors in Middle East Studies as part of a larger attempt to control what is taught in universities.

7) Counter-organizing and propaganda: An array of anti-Palestinian organizations provide resources, training, and salaries to students, faculty, and activists to organize, agitate, mobilize, and write, against pro-Palestinian organizing on campuses. One such organization is the Hasbara Fellowships, funded by private donors and foundations as well as the State of Israel, which pays students on campus to promote and defend anti-Palestinian perspectives. As the website explains, they work with over 80 campuses, and send “hundreds of students to Israel every summer and winter, giving them the information and tools to return to their campuses as educators about Israel.” Until this point, they have educated over 3000 students (Hasbara Fellows) on 250 campuses. The program also offers an infrastructure for support from their staff, “as well as access to various campaigns, programs, speakers and other materials and tools.”¹⁸⁷

The range of activities the group sponsors and encourages is dizzying: in 2013, for example, Hasbara joined with BOMAH (The Brand of Milk and Honey) in order **“to train and support pro-Israel students to use social media platforms effectively.”** Such trainings occurred at fourteen campuses, including Rutgers University, UCLA, and the University of Massachusetts. Hasbara also organized “Israeli Peace Week,” on 45 campuses across the United States at almost the same time as pro-Palestinian “Israeli Apartheid Week,” a multinational effort to highlight the apartheid system which governs Palestinians daily lives across historic Palestine. The message of “Israeli Peace Week,” was consistent across the campuses: “Israel wants peace,” and Palestinians “were the main culprits” in previous failed attempts at “peace.” While they claim that the proximity to Israeli Apartheid Week was “not its main objective,” they also assert that “while IAW organizers were demonizing Israel, pro-Israel students launched a more positive, truthful and effective campaign” to defend Israel and detract from informational efforts to put forward the pro-Palestinian cause.

This is an example of Zionist institutions funding top-down propaganda efforts in explicit reaction to grassroots work that counters Israeli disinformation.¹⁸⁸ As the Hasbara Fellowship website brags, there has been a good harvest from the Hasbara Fellows: they wrote over 50 articles in campus newspapers in 2013, including at the University of Texas, University of California-Irvine, and Boston College.¹⁸⁹ This record of publication reveals that there is a coordinated and ongoing effort to train Zionist university students and equip them with pre-fabricated (often just fabricated) and pre-packaged “facts” and arguments against a rising BDS movement.

8) Creating support for Israel from Black, Latino and Indigenous organizations, public officials and public personalities and isolating Palestine from other anti-racist, anti-colonial struggles: The ability of the Zionist movement to exact penalties from Black politicians and organizations for questioning Israel or supporting Palestine has been a feature of U.S. politics for over 50 years. In 2002 Zionist institutions, aligned with right-wing political forces, successfully funded major campaigns to unseat Georgia Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney and Alabama Congressman Earl Hilliard for supporting both Palestine and a host of other progressive issues disfavored by the right wing.¹⁹⁰ Following her defeat, Congresswoman McKinney highlighted an aspect of the divides Zionist institutions have created between political forces in the Black community, by noting that it was Republicans, aided by Zionist institutions, who wanted to defeat her more than Democrats wanted to keep her.

To widen the divide, Zionist institutions such as AIPAC have made considerable investment in funding Black and Latino churches, leaders, and students since the 1990s.¹⁹¹ This funding supports extensive “educational” trips to Israel, educational scholarships for Black leaders and students, and infrastructure improvements, particularly to Black mega-churches. George H. W. Bush’s “Faith Based and Community Initiative,” which paired Federal funds with funds from Zionist institutions, helped

expand the reach of major Christian Zionist, pro-Israel Black mega-churches such as that of President Bush's close friend T. D. Jakes.¹⁹² Paired with this strategy, Zionist institutions have fostered the creation of a number of Black secular and Christian Zionist groups to counter the activities of Black progressive activists working in communities and college campuses.

One such group, the Institute for Black Solidarity with Israel, is increasingly part of Zionist backlash.¹⁹³ The organization specializes in distorting the history of Black and Zionist collaboration in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s to silence criticism of Zionism and the State of Israel. The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement recently took a stand against IBSI, noting that, "As a Black liberation organization committed to the liberation of all oppressed people, we particularly object to the misuse of our histories of struggle to justify the racism against the Palestinian people. Moreover, we object to the evangelical premise of the support of many Christian Zionists (Black or otherwise) to Israel in which the destruction of the Jewish people is a pre-requisite for the fulfillment of the 'messianic promise.'"¹⁹⁴



Challenged by Black organizations across the United States, and in opposition to the solidarity expressed by South African anti-apartheid leaders such as Desmond Tutu, Nelson Mandela and Ronnie Kasrils, the Black-identified student organization, the Vanguard Leadership Group, funded and recognized by AIPAC and participants on several funded trips to Israel, has been mobilized to oppose Israel Apartheid Week, BDS and Palestine solidarity activism on campuses across the United States. The sixteen-member group ran advertisements in campus papers at Brown University, UCLA, the University of Maryland, and Columbia University, criticizing Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) for calling Israel an "apartheid" state.¹⁹⁵

More recently, backlash funders have funded online and public personalities who claim to represent pro-Israel sentiments in Black communities. Chloe Valdary is a consultant for the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA) and a fellow at the Lawfare Project. She is paid by both to promote Israel, and espouses virulent anti-Palestinian and anti-Palestine solidarity propaganda under the banner of "Angry Black Woman."¹⁹⁶ Dozens of Zionist organizations and media outlets use her work to counter the overwhelming solidarity for Palestine expressed by Black liberation activists and organizations such as Professor Robin Kelley, Professor Cornell West, labor activists Bill Fletcher and Clarence Thomas, Angela Davis, Alice Walker, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Colorlines, and Black Alliance for Just Immigration – to name just a few. She depicts the Zionist movement as an anti-racist, civil rights movement – both diminishing the historic and current struggle of Black people in the United States against historic and on-going brutal racism while denying the racism against Palestinians that is at the heart of Zionism. Her attempts to co-opt anti-racist struggle in support of Zionism and Israel have received criticism from Black students, professors and activists alike.¹⁹⁷

Despite an active presence on social media, public personalities like Valdary do not represent any base of Black people, communities, or liberation movements. However, the efforts of Zionist organizations, public officials, and U.S. supporters, including the U.S. government, have had a destructive impact in isolating Palestine in international human rights gatherings. An important example is the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR). Dating back to the first such conference in Geneva in 1978, in reaction to an emerging alliance of African anti-colonial struggles, Pan Africanism, Arab Nationalism, and the Palestinian liberation struggle, Israel and Zionist organizations worked to undermine the conference. They tried to make Palestine such a source of contention that all other struggles and their demands, particularly against European colonialism and U.S. imperialism, would be overshadowed. They then fostered resentment by claiming that it was the Palestinian struggle itself and its demand

for centrality which had undermined the forum instead of the Zionist opposition to Palestinian claims against racism and colonialism.

This pattern repeated in 2001, when the two main flashpoints of WCAR in Durban became reparations for slavery and the liberation of Palestine. In an act of “solidarity,” the United States was part of a walk-out led by Israel and also supported by Canada.¹⁹⁸ Though the premise was standing with Israel, it gave the U.S. a justification to avoid the issue of reparations and accountability for slavery. Meanwhile, Israel, Zionists, and their allies from the United States, Canada, Europe and elsewhere once again represented the Palestinian struggle as overshadowing other struggles against racism and colonialism. Again in 2011, pressured by Israel and the pro-Israel lobby (including large numbers of politicians from the Democratic Party), the first African-American president of the U.S. refused to attend WCAR in Geneva. Stressing the importance of providing “support and reparations” to victims of slavery in the United States, actor and activist Danny Glover made an appeal to Obama in *The Nation*, on 8 April: “Would the United Nations conference not be exactly the right place for our new president to show the world that his administration’s commitment to ‘change we can believe in’ means rejecting our country’s tarnished legacy of violating international law, undermining the United Nations and using American exceptionalism to justify walking away from the leadership responsibility many in the world expect of the United States?”¹⁹⁹



Though most Black, African and other anti-racist, anti-colonial struggles do not fall for the Zionist attempt to isolate Palestine from its natural allies, this history and the resources and influence of Israel’s supporters – from public officials to funders of organizations and progressive causes to UN agencies and leaders – has ensured that solidarity with Palestine risks a significant level of backlash. However, Palestine has been and remains an inspiration to anti-racist, anti-colonial struggles. Moreover, it has lent support and strength to anti-colonial and national liberation movements of the 1960s, the South African anti-apartheid movement, the 2011 popular uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and sweeping across North African and the Middle East and again in Ferguson, Missouri. At the 2001, led by South Africans, over 10,000 marched with banners connecting the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa to the anti-colonial struggle in Palestine.²⁰⁰

9) Co-opting Progressive Movements: In the United States, there is a Zionist strategy of recruiting from communities struggling for social justice to drive a wedge between the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and other movements struggling for the same.

Perhaps the most well-known example is that of “pinkwashing,” which the alQaws Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society defines as the Zionist attempt “to distract American and European audiences from the illegal Israeli occupation and larger Apartheid policies, by promoting Israel as a progressive liberal state; a ‘gay haven’ in the midst of an oppressive and homophobic Palestinian society and Arab world.”²⁰¹ Not only does pinkwashing seek to erase organizing for gender and sexual justice within Palestine and the Arab world more broadly, it erases the fact that Palestinian queers have articulated time and again that their most immediate struggle is against Israeli settler colonialism.

A closely related Zionist strategy of coopting progressive forces is what environmental justice activists have more generally dubbed “greenwashing.” The Zionist movement has used greenwashing as a

thinly veiled justification for colonial expansion and ethnic cleansing, much as European colonial powers used similar rhetoric of environmental progress to justify colonialism in North Africa.²⁰² One of the clearest examples of Zionist greenwashing is that of the Jewish National Fund, which draws on a century of Zionist rhetoric of “making the desert bloom” to depict itself as a kind of environmental steward, planting vast forests for the sake of environmental sustainability and the public good. In fact, as the e-book edited by the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network, *Greenwashing Apartheid: The Jewish National Fund’s Environmental Cover Up*, makes clear:

Far from the JNF claim of concern for the environment, the State of Israel and the JNF set out to destroy the way of life and indigenous habitat of the Palestinian people who in many cases have lived there for thousands of years. The JNF partners with the State of Israel in destroying villages, bulldozing agricultural land, uprooting olive trees – some of which are hundreds of years old – and stealing land with water sources that have served Palestinian communities for hundreds and in some cases thousands of years.²⁰³

Not only does the JNF’s self-representation as an environmentalist organization obscure its fundamental role in the colonization of Palestine and the maintenance of a Jewish supremacist system of land tenure, it also papers over its actual role in environmental degradation, as the authors of *Greenwashing Apartheid* again point out:

In addition to the harm it has caused and causes to Palestinian people and their ways of life, the JNF has inflicted and continues to inflict grave harm on the natural environment in Palestine.

Its manner of planting, by its use of hazardous chemicals and by planting trees that are not native to the land, has been disastrous. Over time, extensive planting of pine trees by the JNF has killed off much of the native habitat and is implicated in massive forest fires... Lake Hula is one of the most egregious examples of the role of the JNF in environmental destruction. In 1950, the JNF drained Lake Hula in the interest of agricultural development. Once rich with diverse animal and plant life, today the area is a barren desert devoid of life. Draining the lake not only resulted in the destruction of an entire eco-system; it later proved problematic for agricultural development as well.²⁰⁴



These Zionist greenwashing tactics are not limited to the JNF.

Recently, the Green Zionist Alliance (GZA) participated in the massive People’s Climate March (PCM) in New York City, a mobilization that cast its political net widely, with participating organizations ranging from those rooted in frontline communities and committed to principles of climate justice, to the generally white-dominated, mainstream liberal environmentalist groups concerned mostly with preservation and sustainability. It was, perhaps, because the PCM’s net was cast so wide that an organization like GZA, a participant in the World Zionist Congress, could find a home at the march. GZA’s mission is explicitly tied to the Zionist settler-colonial ideology and project, and actively works with the JNF (one of GZA’s co-founders, Alon Tal, serves on the JNF’s board of directors) to promote an image of “Green Israel”).²⁰⁵

Fortunately, GZA’s participation in the PCM did not pass without criticism. *No One Is Illegal* organizer and author Harsha Walia, for instance, asked: “At a time when Israeli war crimes are massacring Palestinian people, how is a climate justice march (ostensibly rooted in social justice and human rights) aligning themselves with Zionism?”²⁰⁶

The Teeth Behind Backlash

Behind these tactics is a powerful apparatus of State and military power: the U.S.-Israel collaboration and training of police departments, security agencies, the National Guard, military personnel, first responders, and intelligence agencies. Organizations involved in backlash against our movements also support and often participate in the increased militarization of police – as in the Anti-Defamation League's defense of the St. Louis police in Ferguson and the NYPD in the killing of Eric Garner. The ADL also facilitated the training of police by the Israeli military – and increased surveillance and targeting of activists. Some of the donors behind these organizations lend political support to and profit from the weapons and military industries. But they also benefit from the repression of movements that threaten their unhindered control of oil revenues, their investments in the military and security industries, and corporate freedom of maneuver more broadly.

Israel has been a key player in the globalization of militarized policing. One of the clearest examples is networked policing, in which Israeli military and police forces and private companies export their expertise in repression by sharing tactics and technologies internationally. In the United States, this aspect of Israel's worldwide role in repression received widespread critical attention after it was revealed that the former police chief of St. Louis County Police Department – the force central to the violent repression of the popular uprising in Ferguson, MO that arose in reaction to the racist murder of Mike Brown – had trained with the Israeli military in 2011 at a “National Counter-Terrorism Seminar” (NCTS) sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).²⁰⁷ This training, in which representatives from U.S. police departments, the FBI and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) collaborated with members of the Israeli National Police, the Israeli army, and other intelligence organizations, is a clear example of the place Israel has carved out for itself in the globalization of militarized policing.

The role of Zionist organizations in facilitating these collaborations between U.S. police, military, and private security forces has received much less attention. In fact, the same Zionist organizations involved in various forms of backlash play considerable roles in promoting and coordinating these international collaborations in state repression and surveillance. These sorts of collaborations are extensive, but some illustrative examples include:

- » The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) boasts that they have sponsored Israeli-led trainings for more than 9000 U.S. law enforcement officials, while the ADL has facilitated Israeli-led training of another 700 law enforcement officials, representing over 220 different agencies, through its “Extremist and Terrorist Threats” training program. In 2010 alone, the ADL trained over 10,500 law enforcement officers.²⁰⁸
- » Beyond the ADL's facilitation of direct U.S.-Israeli police and military collaboration, the ADL also independently trains police officers, security and intelligence personnel in surveillance and population control at their Advanced Training School *Extremist and Terrorist Threats* program. Police departments that have received ADL training include: New York, New Jersey, Chicago, Philadelphia, Houston, Detroit, Dallas, Phoenix, Las Vegas, Atlanta, D.C., Boston, St. Louis, Richmond, Louisville, Tulsa, Nashville, Charlotte, Albuquerque, Atlantic City, and San Francisco. All trainings involve the use of the ADL's unrepentant Islamophobic ideology to justify the intensified policing and surveillance of Arab and Muslim communities, as well as others – from Black communities to social justice activists – whose repression can be justified on the grounds of “anti-terrorism” or “anti-extremism.” Zionist and Israeli training aids and abets already rampantly Islamophobic U.S. state surveillance and policing, as evidenced by the recent revelations of a massive NYPD program of spying on Muslim communities.²⁰⁹
- » Following the grand jury decision not to indict the Ferguson police officer who murdered Michael Brown, the ADL sided with the lack of indictment and categorized popular resistance as uncalled for violence, saying that they “respect the grand jury's integrity and their commitment to meeting the heavy responsibility thrust upon them. Friends of the

Brown family, members of his community, and people across the nation may disagree with the outcome, and that is their right. But disagreement is never an excuse for violence.”²¹⁰ Similarly, following the grand jury decision not to indict the NYPD officers who murdered Eric Garner, the ADL reaffirmed their support for the NYPD (who have themselves received ADL-sponsored Israeli training)²¹¹: “We welcome the strong statements by Mayor Bill DeBlasio and the NYPD expressing their commitment to rebuild public trust and work together for justice in order to build the kind of city – and nation – we need to be. We are committed to that task and stand ready to work with our partners.”²¹² When Black football player Reggie Bush publically connected the struggle of Black communities in Ferguson with the struggle of Palestinians, the ADL slammed Bush, condescendingly stating that “Reggie Bush demonstrates a severe lack of understanding of both issues. He should stick to football.”²¹³

- » The Jewish United Fund (JUF) sponsored Chicago police superintendent and local law enforcement officials’ participation in the 3rd International 2014 Homeland Security Conference in Tel Aviv, which gathered representatives from governments, police and military forces, and private security and weapons contractors from over 60 countries around the world.²¹⁴
- » The leak by whistleblower Edward Snowden of a top-secret memoranda of understanding between the National Security Agency (NSA) and Israeli intelligence revealed extensive U.S.-Israeli intelligence-sharing, including surveillance of U.S. citizens’ phone conversations and emails.²¹⁵ The role Zionist organizations play in facilitating closer collaboration between U.S. and Israeli police, military, and intelligence forces has been part of creating the conditions for these kinds of fundamental U.S.-Israeli violations of civil liberties.
- » In 2003 the NYPD set up an office in the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv (Tal Al Rabia) that it then moved to Kafr Saba so as to operate from within an Israeli Police District (precinct) in 2012. In 2011, documents leaked to the Associated Press revealed that the NYPD’s Intelligence Unit had established a secret unit – sometime between 2003 and 2004 – tasked with mapping, monitoring and infiltrating sites of Muslim life, from shopping areas, barber shops to places of worship and elementary schools. The leaked documents reveal a strong focus on people and groups who spoke about Palestine, including children. For example, the unit attempted to infiltrate the Palestinian political organization, Al Awda New York. The Demographics Unit, later renamed the Zone Assessment Unit was set up by the CIA’s former operations Chief David Cohen who recruited active CIA Agent Sanchez to design the demographics unit. Sanchez was known have modeled the NYPD’s secret Demographics Unit on Israeli measures used to control Palestinians living in Israeli Occupied West Bank. The Demographics Unit employed numerous detectives to monitor and follow Muslim people as they went about their daily lives, using up to four types of surveillance per target site, group or person. The secret surveillance unit was officially disbanded in 2014 by incoming NYC Mayor DeBlasio.
- » In the wake of Hurricane Katrina and the massively racist disregard for Black life that the accompanying U.S. state response (and lack thereof) revealed, leaders from the National Guard travelled to Israel to train with the state’s Home Front Command on “responding to natural disasters and terrorist attacks.” Army Lt. Gen. H. Steven Blum, then chief of the National Guard, called the collaboration “a natural marriage.”²¹⁶ It is precisely these types of collaborations that the same Zionist organizations which coordinate the backlash network have worked so hard to expand and deepen.

Backlash donor investment in other reactionary causes

The backlash network does not just back efforts to counter pro-Palestine activities or to promote Islamophobia. They also invest extensively in other reactionary political causes, conservative and reactionary politicians, and the undermining of organizing and political movements that threaten their unbridled pursuit of profit. As outlined in the profiles of the key eleven donors and the intermediaries

on pages 36-56, they use their resources to influence public policy and opinion against gains for worker protections, anti-racist discrimination measures, environmental regulations and justice, civil liberties and anti-criminalization, prison growth, and attacks on queer and transgender liberation and women's movements.

To highlight one example, the Koch Brother intermediaries – Donors Capital and Donors Trust, The Bradley Foundation as well as the lesser known and smaller Zionist funder, the Fairbrook Foundation, all fund the National Organization for Marriage (NOM). NOM organized the attack against gay marriage through both legislative and funding homophobic public and social media. Furthermore, both the Koch Brothers and the Bradley Foundation fund policy institutes, think tanks and public interest groups that seek to influence legislation and public opinion in favor of traditional gender roles and toward undermining and reversing some of the gains of the grassroots women's movement (i.e. assistance for childcare and for mothers) as well as of the more mainstream, middle class, white feminist movement (i.e. equal pay, affirmative action, etc.).

Also highlighted on pages 36-56, most of the donors and their intermediaries fund think tanks and policy institutes that promote the militarization of the U.S. economy, policing at home and occupation and military invasions abroad, particularly in the Middle East. They also share in common attacks on public education, accessible public health care, social security and social welfare more broadly. Some do so through conservative, reactionary attacks on these public welfare systems, some do it through turning rights and entitlements into private, charitable endeavors for the “deserving poor.” At first glance these efforts and investments appear progressive. However, upon further examination, they reinforce the privatization of social services and the hollowing out of the social welfare state, while also subtly influencing the agendas of many of the organizations which receive such funding.

For example, many of the foundations and funders discussed above work against broadening the government healthcare system under the guise of healthcare reform while simultaneously supporting hospitals with massive private donations. Through this process, they force some of the central institutions which provide services that ought to be in the public domain – health and medicine – into relying on private wealth. Over time privatizing healthcare decreases access for those who most need it. This broader agenda of undercutting the social safety net and rolling back the Great Society programs is thus concealed under the veneer of a philanthropic mission.

Similarly, the same individuals who invest in education reform, charter schools and privatization of education while funding opposition to teachers' unions, supporting political candidates who oppose more state spending on all forms of education, and working to gut public education while at the same time spending lavishly on the university system. The investments in higher education, particularly to humanities or social sciences, increasingly influence the ideological direction of certain fields of inquiry as steered by grants. For example, there are endowed chairs in Israel Studies popping up throughout the United States. Such chairs are unlikely to go to those who strongly oppose Israeli policy.

According to their 990s, in 2011 the Koret Foundation gave \$750,000 to the Jewish Studies Departments at University California at Berkeley (\$450,000), Davis (\$90,000) and Santa Cruz (\$150,000) as well as San Francisco State University (\$60,000). But gifts to universities can also take on a different edge: they create a direct line of communication between donors and senior administration, much like campaign donations create similar channels between donors and politicians. Through such channels, gift-givers can put pressure on the administration to squash divestment efforts

In 2011, the Oakland Museum of Children's Art, citing pressure from pro-Israel advocates and organizations, canceled a planned exhibit of artwork by Palestinian children and youth that depicted their experiences of the Israeli assault during the 2008-09 Israeli massacre. The Board ultimately decided to cancel the exhibit after pro-Israel organizations and influential advocates threatened their funding. This tactic has been repeated against cultural and art organizations across the United States, including Homey Unidos movement solidarity mural in San Francisco and a solidarity event by Eastside Arts Alliance in Oakland (see case study on pages 98-99).

whether in support of Palestine, environmental justice or demilitarization. And they can threaten to pull out funding if administrators allow full academic freedom to professors critical of Israel or critical of other vested interest.



Finally, museums and, more broadly, funding for the arts is another superficially liberal arena of gift-giving. Yet, upon closer inspection, such giving is yet another avenue for control over the direction of cultural expression in U.S. society. Funding of museums, galleries, and foundations opens maneuvering room for deciding which artists receive exposure, and which do not – and more importantly, what kinds of art receive broader attention, and which do not. Art foundations which could rely on the support of a generous welfare state, instead are forced to rely on private gifts. Those benefactors can and have removed funding in retaliation for foundation or gallery decisions to support political artwork,

including political artwork centered around Palestine – a continual cultural flashpoint.

In all of these ways, shrinking the welfare state and in its place relying on privatized support for basic needs makes it vulnerable to the whims of elite interests. Such shrinkage and their replacement with private funds, make arts, universities, hospitals, and schools subject to decisions and interests that cannot be democratically determined and which work against the public interest.

Case Study: The Attack on Environmental Protection by Backlash and Islamophobia Donors

A key example of this is the heavy investment of these donors in undermining environmental protection. Three of the nine donors giving millions to Zionist backlash and Islamophobia are also giving millions to this attack. This is first and foremost because the empire-building of the U.S. and Israel's colonization of Palestine are both predicated on the theft or conquest of indigenous land, industrial production of natural resources unsustainably extracted from said land and the exploitation or enslavement of human labor used for such production. There's no question that these violent processes are categorically destructive to the natural environment and human's interdependency with it, both of which are crucial to functioning capitalist, colonial economies.

Therefore, to understand foundation funding of NGOs and think tanks that prop up Israel through Islamophobic attacks and backlash and on those whose undermining and isolation enables Israel's colonization of Palestine, we must draw connections to how the funding of colonial projects is an attack on the natural environment. Industrialization is necessary to refine oil itself, manufacture armored vehicles, war planes and weapons on the scale necessary for military conquest, as well as utilize large-scale agriculture practices needed to feed military personnel, colonial settlers, etc. The toll on the environment to mine, produce, distribute and manage waste generated through industrial production of natural resources for the purposes of colonization is grave and has created a disturbingly imminent ecological crisis in only a few centuries since these practices were initiated by colonial powers.

The policies that continue to enable industrial (non-localized) production include deregulation of environmental protections and denial of climate change through media propaganda, both of which are central to the Right-wing agenda propagated by conservative foundations. These policies allow for greater corporate control of industry, sustained and expanded profit through neoliberal trade policies and concurrent elimination of environmental safeguarding, and finally, the wholesale commodification of natural resources that makes human interdependency with the natural environment very difficult to maintain. They are supported by state attacks on the environmental movement.

In essence, and for this very reason, environmental destruction resulting from industrialization and colonization is a stepping-stone to genocide of indigenous communities and vice versa. It is no coincidence then that environmental deregulation goes hand-in-hand and overlaps with the free market mentalities and imperial ideologies of the Right that ultimately produce maximum profit for the government and corporate elite overseeing this global structuring of economy and therefore social life and even life itself. Targeting countries and “emerging markets” with low environmental protections while also willfully breaking the laws that do exist – not to mention exploiting devalued labor costs – is absolutely necessary to generate massive profit windfalls, without which capital would suffocate in stasis, much like fire without air.

Support of Israel and environmental deregulation is yet another feather in the hat of the Right, and these positions – not coincidentally – reinforce one another in order to strengthen the Right’s overall agenda.

Below are examples of the way that the very foundation funding utilized to attack critics of Israel and promote a culture of Islamophobia also negatively impacts the natural environment.

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation: The Bradley Foundation is a major funder of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), which is a network of Right-wing corporate lobbyists that writes state legislation able to be duplicated in other cities. This legislation may include policies that buttress corporate power and profits, privatize the public school system, reduce workers’ rights, limit corporate accountability for pollution, and restrict voting, amongst other neoliberal dismantling of government protections for people.

To provide some historical context for how such foundations build elite networks to accumulate vast wealth and industry control, **Harry Bradley was an original charter member of the far right-wing, anti-immigrant John Birch Society alongside another Birch Society board member, Fred Koch, the father of Koch Industries’ billionaire brothers and owners, Charles and David Koch.** Policies backed by the Bradley Foundation, such as welfare reform and public employee benefits cutbacks, are advanced or developed in Wisconsin and then promoted nationally through ALEC. While the conservative and austerity causes they support run the gamut, they have a particular anti-labor, anti-environment, and anti-immigrant focus, as well as a pro-privatization and pro-military tendency.

Since the 1980s and until today, the Bradley Foundation funds organizations that dismantle environmental regulations. This includes eliminating regulatory measures

taken by government to protect species of non-human animals that are threatened by development and its externalized costs on the natural environment. In fact, the Bradley Fund for the Environment has taken legal actions to block newly recognized endangered species from being registered.

Part and parcel with the Right's funding of environmental deregulation policies is its support for a cultural war against Muslims in the U.S. that serves to justify the dehumanization and colonization of Palestinians and other Muslim groups in the Middle East. As outlined on pages 41-42, from 2001 to 2009, the Bradley Foundation, for example, provided \$5,370,000 in funding to the 'Islamophobia network'. It is no coincidence that many of the foundations funding environmental deregulation are also funding Zionist backlash against criticism of Israel and the purveying of Islamophobia, both of which – in their own ways – serve to further consolidate wealth and power of the U.S. elite.

The Koch Brothers: Notorious for a diverse investment portfolio that reveals just how integrated their wealth is in the political spheres that arbitrate provisions on domestic environmental as well as foreign policy. Worth at least \$115 billion in net assets, Koch Industries, Inc. is an American multinational corporation based in Wichita, Kansas, United States, with subsidiaries involved in manufacturing, trading and investments. Koch owns Invista, Georgia-Pacific, Flint Hills Resources, Koch Pipeline, Koch Fertilizer, Koch Minerals and Matador Cattle Company. Koch companies are involved in core industries such as the manufacturing, refining and distribution of petroleum, chemicals, energy, fiber, intermediates and polymers, minerals, fertilizers, pulp and paper, chemical technology equipment, ranching, finance, commodities trading, as well as other ventures and investments. Unsurprisingly, Koch Industries is ranked as one of the 30 top polluters in the United States.²¹⁷

The Keystone XL pipeline, which would carry tar sands oil from Canada through U.S. Gulf region refineries, could generate billions in profits for the Koch brothers if approved by US.. Congress. The Kochs and their privately-owned company, Koch Industries, own 1.1 million acres of land in Alberta, Canada, where the pipeline would start, with several Koch subsidiary companies standing to profit from the tire sands transportation as well. Clearly with any massive extraction of resources there are intense consequences for the natural environment and the people with whom there is an interdependent relationship. This includes increased greenhouse gas emissions from some of the dirtiest forms of oil (i.e. tar sands), high risk of oil spills during transportation that can threaten regional ecosystems, the externalized impacts such resource extraction has on people's relationship with land, etc. Koch's ownership of 1.1 million acres of land in Alberta – from which they extract natural resources for profit – exemplifies the historical dispossession of indigenous peoples from that land in what is known as Canada.

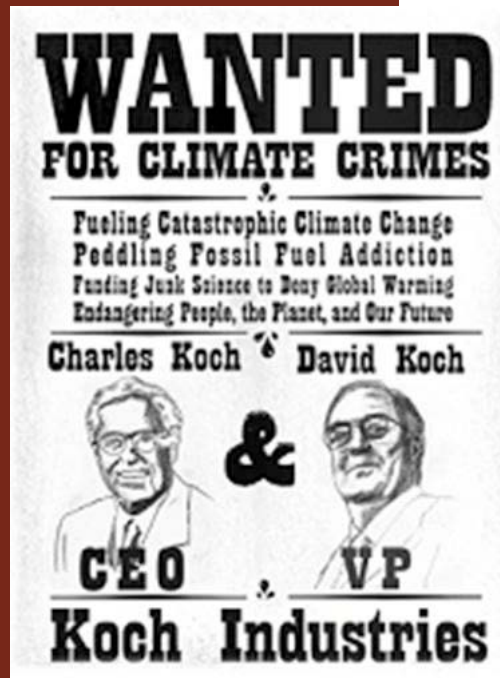
Furthermore, funding of political movements such as the Tea Party by the Koch brothers means greater influence of a politic that supports inaction on climate change, the consequences of which have been discussed at great length in mainstream discourse. If industry is forced by politicians to curb production that pollutes because of its impact on the natural environment, this leads to more government regulations and therefore less profit. In the final analysis, profit is dependent on the ability to produce as much as possible with minimal barriers standing in the way, including environmental regulation.

Consistent with this Right-wing agenda of undermining government oversight of industrial production is support for Israel's dominance in the Middle East through its colonization of Palestine. They are famous for being some of the primary financial backers of the Tea Party through a non-profit they founded called Americans for Prosperity. A report entitled "Fakexperts" details how right-wing foundations associated with the Koch brothers, Richard Mellon Scaife, the Bradley family, and others have funneled money through a secret finance network to support extremist right-wing groups. While the Koch brothers' connections to environmental destruction are well-documented, their donations to Zionist and Islamophobic organizations make little headway in the mainstream media, yet are equally important to understand how conservative values and policies are fundamental to corporate and government control both in the U.S. and Israel.

Pacific Research Institute (PRI): A think tank that promotes free market ideologies and champions individual liberty and responsibility, is yet another thread in the web of foundation and think tank funding tied to a Right-wing agenda. PRI has been funded to the tune of \$1.6 million in donations from the Koch family foundations since 1986, \$1.5 million from the Koch conduits DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund, and millions from other right-wing foundations, including the now-familiar Sarah Scaife Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation and the Searle Freedom Trust.

Gas giant ExxonMobil has contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to PRI, whose position on climate change – staunch denial and propaganda to the contrary -- serves to protect the interests of gas companies and therefore enables their continued evisceration of land and natural resources. For example, PRI stated in 1998 that "There is no conclusive scientific evidence that global warming exists or that, if it does, human activity is a contributing factor." PRI has not evolved over the years with the rest of the world in regards to climate change. In fact, in 2007, PRI produced a DVD documentary response to Al Gore's "An Inconvenient Truth" entitled "An Inconvenient Truth...Or Convenient Fiction?" which seeks to refute the notion that climate change is happening because of the burning of fossil fuels, for example, and that humans have actually caused or played a dominant role in climate change.

Pacific Legal Foundation (PLF): Funded by the Scaife Foundation and Koch family network, is a legal organization that works to buttress capitalism through a "market-oriented economic system, traditional property rights and limited government," while simultaneously attacking environmental and health regulations, including the Sierra Club and Environmental Defense Fund (not that those institutions aren't problematic in their own right). The PLF has fought the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) over the years "over its determination that Environmental Tobacco Smoke (ETS) was a carcinogen and its attempt to regulate Indoor Air Quality (IAQ)." In fact, the PLF worked with the Phillip Morris-founded front group National Smokers Alliance to fight anti-smoking campaigns. According to Exxonsecrets.org, PLF was "Anti-environmental



from the start [and its] early actions supported the use of DDT, the use of herbicides in national forests, and the use of public range land without requiring an environmental impact review.” PLF over the years has challenged state environmental regulations and federal laws, including the Endangered Species Act, Clean Water Act, and Clean Air Act to protect private property rights and reduce government.

Conclusion: When seeking to understand the power of foundations, it is crucial to see that support for deregulating U.S. industry *vis-a-vis* the natural environment is not divorced from support of a colonial government occupying Palestine. Both positions have the potential to further consolidate control of natural resources – within the U.S. and the Middle East – which is crucial for capitalist expansion and colonial conquest. In fact, these processes – just like cutbacks in school spending and increased state funding for prison construction -- are dependent upon one another and therefore are fundamental to the conservative values and political agenda backed by foundations in the U.S. The dehumanization of Muslims through funof Islamophobic organizations serves to justify Western wars against Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, etc., all of which are dependent upon the exploitation of the natural environment and the resources needed for colonial expansion and imperial conquest.



ASSESSING OUR RESPONSE: SUCCESSSES AND IMPLICATIONS

Thank you for supporting me. We can find the justice in some place maybe not in this court maybe in other place[s]. There's justice in this world. We will find it. Don't worry we will find the justice. I feel I am strong. You will continue to be strong. We will face injustice. And we have to change this world. Not just in this country, all the world. In all the places there is not justice we have to bring the justice together. I'm not going to be weak in this situation. I am strong and I ask all of you to be strong. I think in spite of everything we are the stronger people, not the government who is [unjust]. Don't mind about that. Maybe the government will ask to lock me in the prison. I don't mind. I am stronger. With my rights and your rights, we will be strong. Don't mind about that and continue to support me, to support Palestine, to support justice. I don't mind. They ask to lock me in. I don't mind. I don't want you to feel weak. We are strong. We will be stronger than them.

~Rasmea Odeh, November 4, 2014²¹⁸

Despite the vast resources – literally hundreds of millions of dollars – behind the backlash that the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movements and BDS network are facing, we have had a lot of success. The Israeli think-tank Reut Institute's describes the growing support for the Palestinian struggle as creating: "An increased international interference in Israel's domestic affairs; greater limitations on Israel's ability to use its military force; economic boycotts and sanctions." The Reut Institute goes on to acknowledge, "In addition, in many places Israel has been successfully branded by its adversaries as a pariah state that deserves the fate of South Africa's apartheid regime... Such political, diplomatic, and economic dynamics may pose an existential threat. They have brought down militarily powerful nations, some of them even nuclear superpowers." ²¹⁹

The intensity and pervasiveness of Zionist backlash is, then, a response to the steadfastness and militancy of Palestinian resistance and the commitment from those who support it worldwide. And while both in the United States and internationally, the social movements and national liberation struggles of the 1960s and 1970s have faced tremendous attack and repression, there is a resurgence of popular movements sweeping across the world. As in the 1960's and 70's, participants in popular movements are looking to Palestine both as an inspiration and as central to movements for self-determination and against colonialism and racism, including Islamophobia, U.S.-European economic and military domination and dictatorships in the Middle East/Southwest Asian North African (SWANA), militarization and the global arms trade, and increasingly anti-repression and anti-policing organizing in the U.S.

In the United States, a few of the many successes include:

- » The passing of a historic divestment resolution by the UAW 2865, the University of California Student-Worker Union, the first major U.S. labor union to support divestment from Israel through a membership vote.²²⁰ 65 percent of voting members approved the call for divestment and 52 percent pledged to support the academic boycott of Israel.
- » Across the University of California campuses divestment resolutions have been proposed and at 5 campuses have won: Divestment votes have also passed at UC Irvine, UC San Diego, UC Riverside, UC Santa Cruz and UC Berkeley in the last year and a half.²²¹ As of February 2015, Stanford also passed a divestment resolution.²²²
- » According to BDS watchdog The Amcha Initiative, over 300 campuses have active campaigns in support of BDS, including the academic and cultural boycott of Israel.²²³

- » The Palestinian-led Block the Boat effort out of Oakland, California successfully prevented the Israeli Zim Ship from unloading at the Port of Oakland twice – the first time it held the ship away for four days, the second time for two days. ILWU Local 10 workers have honored the pickets and sided with the community against U.S. complicity in Israeli apartheid. Zim has been disrupted and confronted by protests in Seattle, Tacoma, Los Angeles, Vancouver, New Orleans, New York and Tampa. At the time of this report, Zim has not published and does not appear to be stopping in the Port of Oakland or Long Beach (LA) for the foreseeable future.²²⁴
- » Several academic associations have passed resolutions in support of BDS, including the Association of Asian American Studies (AAAS), American Studies Association (ASA), the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA), Modern Language Association (MLA).²²⁵
- » Led by a multi-racial, multi-movement coalition of Palestinian/Arab, Black, anti-Zionist Jewish, prison and civil rights groups, the Stop Urban Shield coalition successfully mobilized to force the City of Oakland to stop hosting the weapons and police training exposition that Israel has played a central role in organizing and promoting its technology and police training.²²⁶

We have been able to defend ourselves against backlash and are building infrastructure, organizations and processes to do so:

- » The Center for Constitutional Rights have taken on cases in defense of Palestinian and Palestine solidarity work, such as *Corrie v. Caterpillar*,²²⁷ and defense of the successful deshelling of Israeli goods at the Olympia Food Co-op.²²⁸ They provided institutional support for the launch of Palestine Solidarity Legal Support.²²⁹
- » Palestine Solidarity Legal Support (PSLS) launched in early 2013 to coordinate strategic legal advocacy “to protect and advance the constitutional rights of Palestinian human rights activists across the U.S. PSLS is an initiative built in partnership with the Center for Constitutional Rights, and in collaboration with the National Lawyers Guild and other groups. It aims to build the power of activists to withstand the concerted assault on free speech and continue advocating for Palestinian human rights.”²³⁰ It is a key resource in the legal defense of the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement including challenging anti-BDS legislation, defending student groups and faculty against assaults, and defending Palestinian activists such as Rasmea Odeh against criminalization and threats of incarceration and deportation.
- » The National Lawyers Guild has launched a student speech work group to provide legal defense of students whose free speech and right to assemble is under attack by backlash groups and efforts. They work in collaboration with PSLS.
- » The Asian Law Caucus has taken on cases of defending Muslim and Arab students that have faced attacks, suspension of student groups and individual students and slander by Islamophobic and backlash groups and their university administrations.
- » Students for Justice in Palestine have increasingly coordinated nationally to defend one another and mobilize responses in support of BDS and other Palestine solidarity work as well as against backlash and targeting of students, student groups and faculty. SJPs have successfully prevented suspension of their chapters through organizing and direct action and with the support of the legal organizations above. In addition, they have built national support for their campaigns and efforts with both campus and off-campus groups and networks.
- » USACBI is mobilizing faculty on campus to defend one another against attacks and to build support for the academic and cultural boycott.

- » The Law Offices Of Lamis Deek, founder of Muslim Defense and member of NLG, represents workers, immigrants, and those profiled by the police and government agencies. They represent the victims of police brutality, discrimination and racism. They have deep roots in the Arab and Muslim communities in New York, as well as strong and lifelong ties to communities of color, workers' struggles, women's organizing, and youth activists.
- » There are growing networks organizing against backlash, including a West Coast and national network organized by IJAN that focuses on responding to backlash in ways that strengthen the Palestine Solidarity Movement and builds collaboration across movements: fighting backlash, repression, policing, prisons, surveillance, militarization and racism of many kinds, including Zionism and Islamophobia.

Through organizing and legal efforts, we have successfully prevented some of the most virulent anti-BDS legislation from passing and **been able to mobilize successful defenses**, including:

- » The Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights rejection of the Title VI complaints against Rutgers University and several University of California campuses. After a thorough investigation of complaints, they concluded:

"In the university environment, exposure to such robust and discordant expressions, even when personally offensive and hurtful, is a circumstance that a reasonable student in higher education may experience. In this context, the events that the complainants described do not constitute actionable harassment."
- » While the fight to drop the charges against the Midwest 23 and Rasmea Odeh continue, the Palestinian-led community and movement organizing combined with strong legal defense have successfully thwarted efforts to use material support laws to charge Midwest Palestinian and Palestine solidarity activists and were successful in releasing Rasmea Odeh from prison leading up to her sentencing.
- » The Center for Constitutional Rights not only organized a successful legal campaign in defense of the Olympia Food Coop Board in response to a suit against them by pro-Israel coop members but won an anti-SLAPP (Strategic Litigation Against Public Participation) motion against those bringing the suit. Anti-SLAPP legislation is designed to protect those who participate in political dissent from lawsuits designed to silence their protest. This important victory is a rare case of achieving a legal precedent that can be used in support of the movement and to warn against frivolous lawsuits designed to censor dissent against Israel.²³¹ In April 2014, the Washington State Court of Appeals upheld the SLAPP ruling.²³² Though still under review by the Washington State Supreme Court, the initial win and affirmation during the appeal offers an example of legal precedent we can seek to secure as a movement when confronted with lawsuits by our opposition. The legal basis for the SLAPP ruling is further defended in a brief stating:

The effect of legal and other efforts to silence those who speak out in favor of Palestinian rights cannot be understated. Innumerable individuals and groups, like Respondents, have been subjected to prolonged and relentless legal campaigns, public smear campaigns, and even criminal prosecutions that distract from the human rights issues to which they peacefully and lawfully bring attention, deplete emotional and other resources, and have a palpable chilling effect upon those wishing to engage in advocacy for Palestinian rights. Anti-SLAPP statutes are one of the few mechanisms that exist to mitigate the burdensome effects of litigation aimed squarely at thwarting lawful First Amendment activities.²³³

- » Successfully mobilizing against attempts to defund the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas program in the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of California through

a mass mobilization that included over 350 academics and public intellectuals from across the United States, over 500 Jewish activists and intellectuals, Palestinian and Black activists and community members and fellow SFSU faculty.

- » Prevented the suspension of dozens of student groups and students from campuses across the U.S. despite calls from backlash groups and activists and a failure of university administrations to stand unwavering in support of their free speech.

Increasingly, as a movement, we have the ability to defend ourselves with and against the tools being used against us, including lawfare. However, the application of laws in our favor or against us depends not only on the precise content of the law or the skill with which we argue our cases, but on the political climate and context. Legal representation and defense are essential, but cannot replace organizing strategies that build our power, grow our numbers, expose our opposition and shift the political climate towards protecting, defending and expanding civil rights and our political goals.

As Angela Davis has said many times of her own release from prison, while she had powerful and brilliant movement lawyers, including her lead attorney Margaret Burnham, her freedom could not have been won without a powerful movement to back the legal case. It is the combination of effective legal and movement strategies working together that have enabled us to win victories and not be defeated by some of the most virulent attacks on our movement – from the LA 8 to the Midwest 23 to Lynn Stewart to Rasmea Odeh.

The victories and successful building of our movement, our ability to defend ourselves and each other, and our ability to develop organization and coordinated responses has been remarkable. We have done so with a tiny fraction of the resources that our opposition has, in the face of Israeli and U.S. state power. We have done it largely with people power. Both the success and limitation of our responses to backlash suggest opportunities for us to collectively strengthen our strategies. The evidence in this report also provides a strong basis for joint campaigns with other social justice movements. The following implications are a reflection of the discussions and organizing that the partners acknowledged in this report have done together and the ways we are figuring out how to defend ourselves. We have as our compass the courage and leadership of those who have been targeted and lent their experience to the strengthening of our movement.

Some specific implications about tactics and strategy include:

- » **Some of our greatest successes against Zionist backlash have combined a broad public political campaign with a strong legal defense:** Because our opposition's attacks are both political and legal, our responses need to combine strong organizing strategies with legal defense. Those wielding the tools of backlash often pressure those they target to keep things behind closed doors, thereby isolating them from the power of our collective movements. Though we don't always win, we haven't seen a case where defeats have been linked to organizing publicly. In fact, there are many examples where the coming together of popular organizing and legal defense have produced successful backlash defense that *also* makes shifts in the political climate toward support for the Palestinian struggle and against repression of many forms. Some examples of success include:
 - » **Northeastern University:** When Students for Justice in Palestine at Northeastern were threatened with expulsion and suspension from the university as a result of their political activity, they responded with a powerful combination of grassroots mobilizing and legal defense. On the one hand, support from the Center for Constitutional Rights, Palestine Solidarity Legal Support, the National Lawyers Guild, and the American Civil Liberties Union articulated the legal concerns about the violation of free speech rights and conveyed their readiness to defend the students on this basis. On the other hand,

students mobilized a campus demonstration in support of free speech with over thirty participating organizations, sent thousands of letters to the administration, and organized a strong media campaign in support of their cause. As a result of this legal and popular strategy, the administration reinstated SJP and supported the students' rights to organize on campus. (see case study, Appendix B, pages 100-102)



- » **San Francisco State University, Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Initiative (AMED):** The successful defense of Professor Rabab Abdulhadi and AMED is an example of the coordination of immediate and strong legal defense and movement organizing not only within the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement but across broader social justice movements and communities targeted by racism. Palestine Solidarity Legal Support took on representation of Professor Abdulhadi, defending her rights and protections under academic freedom and the first amendment to the SFSU administration and encouraging them to do the same. They further encouraged the University to be unwavering in their public defense of her right to teach on Palestine, meet with a broad range of organizers, activists and academics when taking her colleagues as a delegation to Palestine, and the use of university funds to establish collaborations between Palestinian universities and AMED.

It seemed, however, that without the public accountability prompted by a strong mobilization, the support of the administration of Professor Abdulhadi and AMED were not assured. The administration initially delayed public support of both, taking a full month to publish a statement that rejected the false accusations being made by the AMCHA Initiative – antisemitism, support for terrorists/terrorism, misuse of public funds. The SFSU Administration received a series of letters from over 450 academics and public intellectuals, over 500 Jewish intellectuals and activists, and hundreds of Black intellectuals and activists, Palestinian community members, students and legal organizations and civil rights lawyers. It was only after this public demand that the administration made their support for Professor Abdulhadi and AMED public. The organizing has continued to mobilize more proactive support for AMED – the only department of its kind in the United States – including political and funding support within the University and against further harassment and threats.

- » **Title VI Complaints at Rutgers and University of California:** The seriousness of the Title VI complaints at Rutgers and the University of California demanded an equally concerted strategic defense. The joint organizing of students, legal organizations, and movement groups combined a very strong legal argument and defense through the DOE Office of Civil Rights investigation of the Zionist Organization of America and AMCHA complaints (see pages 68-69) with a popular campaign to publicize the ways in which Title IV legislation was being used against the very communities it was meant to defend. This popular campaign included letter writing, large turnouts for divestment hearings on campus, and an effective media strategy, and was an essential compliment to the legal defense in creating a political climate in which such censorship was broadly challenged.
- » **Midwest 23 & Rasmea Odeh:** Midwest 23 & Rasmea Odeh: Both movement defenses of the Midwest 23 and of Rasmea Odeh combined necessary legal responses with powerful grassroots organizing. Some of the best civil rights lawyers, who specialize in the (mis) use of material support laws, defended the civil liberties of activists, while strong national organizing has spearheaded resisting and exposing the injustice of the



government attacks on activists. In the case of the Midwest 23, the decision of the targeted activists to refuse participation in the grand jury trial and the mass mobilization nationally has held off persecutions and led to the return of the personal material of Palestinian community leader Hatem Abudayyeh seized by the FBI. Though it's not over, the Palestinian-led mobilization has been incredibly effective. The FBI's investigation, and most likely its frustration with not being able to indict the Midwest 23, led it to partner with the Israeli government in an attack on Rasmea Odeh, a

beloved Palestinian community leader and human rights activist. After twenty years of living in the United States, she faces the threat of ten years of incarceration followed by deportation for failing to report her unlawful administrative detention in an Israeli military prison during which she was brutally tortured, including sexually. At the writing of this report, the fight to drop the charges against her continues. However, with her own spirit and encouragement as the inspiration, the Palestinian-led mobilization has been able to raise the bail funds to win her release from Port Huron, Michigan jail in the lead up to her sentencing trial as organizing against the charges continues. Even with attempts to obstruct the promise of a bail release, her release was gained by popular organizing, and tenacious legal representation.

- » **Building alliances across our differences and standing against attempts to divide us into “legitimate” and “illegitimate” dissent:** As described earlier, part of the Reut Institute's strategy is to create divisions based on political differences within the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement (see pages 30-33 for more on the Reut Institute strategy). Specifically, they describe wanting to separate those engaging in what they call “delegitimization” of a Jewish state in Palestine from those whose critiques and organizing may target Israeli state policy and practice and lift up the human rights of Palestinians, but don't question the idea or fact of a Jewish state in Palestine. This follows from the “peace-process”, also known as the Oslo Process, which was used to divide the Palestinian movement and Palestine solidarity movement into camps of those “willing to compromise” on the fundamental question of the legitimacy of the colonization of Palestine and those “unreasonable” activists, political parties and organizations unwilling to do so.²³⁴

Ultimately, the Reut Institute and Israeli state strategy is to isolate Palestinian and other Arab-led resistance forces in the region. As such, they work to marginalize, isolate and even criminalize solidarity work that takes this resistance as its point of reference – “delegitimizers.” This can also translate to pro-Israel funders (like the Jewish Communal fund of LA) contributing to progressive organizations that are critical of Israel, as long as they don't cross the line of “delegitimization.” Leveraging the power of funding, especially in the context of repression, is an attempt to skew the political climate to make fundamental shifts in power appear untenable. However, what this report attempts to demonstrate is the vast amount of resources it takes to manufacture the idea that replacing the “Jewish State” with a “one person one vote” is unrealistic. While we can't escape the ways the Reut Institute strategy as well as the Zionist Backlash network have shaped the conditions our movements are operating within, we can keep striving not to play into their attempts to divide us along ideological grounds.

- » **Defending free speech and academic freedom as central to protection of dissent, particularly anti-racist movements, while challenging racist speech:** The backlash network and its donors have invested a significant amount of its resources in attempting to limit and erode the free speech protections of the Palestinian and Palestine solidarity movement. Though some university administrators have remained committed to protecting free speech and academic freedom on their campuses, many others have participated in and even supported censorship and restrictions on first amendment rights of Palestinians and their supporters on campus. Often it is only through public pressure and accountability that university administrators and Boards stand with students and faculty in defending their rights.

The protection of free speech and academic freedom, as well as freedom from censorship, are important battles, and ones that have wide popular support in the United States. The repression of free speech is most often an extension of the violence and repression used against those whose voices and experiences challenge exploitation and oppression based on race, class, gender, sexuality, immigration status, and/or indigeneity. Therefore, the battles over free speech, particularly their use to protect movements of those most impacted by injustice, were often won and strengthened most by anti-racist struggles that defended themselves on First Amendment grounds.

It follows that the fight for free speech and academic freedom is inseparable from who is speaking and the content of that speech. The Irvine 11 students who expressed their dissent at the UC Irvine invitation to Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren to speak following the 2009 Israeli massacre of Palestinians in Gaza did not enjoy the protection of the First Amendment, and were not only expelled but faced misdemeanor charges resulting in community service and probation. Similarly, students at San Francisco State University's General Union of Palestinian Students faced investigation and condemnation from the administration for lifting up the legacy of anti-colonial resistance by positively identifying with the Native American refrain, "My heroes have always killed colonizers." Across universities, students who expressed their anger at the actual violence that the Israeli military perpetrates against their families and communities in Palestine have faced threats or actual expulsion as well as other sanctions. All are examples of the ways that free speech has not protected the speech of those expressing resistance to racism and colonialism.

Meanwhile, the actual racist speech of Islamophobic political commentators and agitators such as Daniel Pipes, or the anti-Palestinian racism of Alan Dershowitz, or pro-Israel paid and unpaid student agitators goes unchallenged and without consequence under free speech protections. Moreover, pro-Israel backlash agitators claim that criticisms of the policies and practices of the State of Israel or lifting up the struggle of Palestinians are racist (antisemitic) and create a feeling of "unsafety" for Jewish students who identify with Israel. Such charges have been taken seriously by university administrators whether out of fear of the legal and funding threats outlined earlier in this paper or out of an ideological and/or political investment in the Israel or the interests, also described earlier, that U.S. support for it represents. While the well-documented, overwhelming incidences of explicit racist speech, acts of violence and harassment and targeting directed at Muslim, Palestinian and other Arab students goes almost entirely without consequence.^{235, 236, 237}

When defending free speech and academic freedom, it therefore seems important to make explicit the question of whose speech is being protected and whose speech is being criminalized, excluded or threatened. In a well-known debate in 1976 between

poet and activist June Jordan and ACLU attorney Harriet Pipel, June Jordan warns that in an unequal society, those most impacted by racism and sexism do not have equal access to freedom of speech.²³⁸ As such, both off and on campus, our efforts should focus on defending the free speech of those fighting for justice and survival on grounds of their right to express and organize specifically for self-preservation and self-determination. In other words, we should fight for free speech as a protection of the right to make these demands (not just for the sake of expression). In doing so we will find common cause with others fighting to connect with and express their own struggles for justice and survival.



As an anti-racist struggle, the Palestine solidarity movement has also challenged the ways that racist speech is protected, defended or even profited from. Defending the free speech of Palestinians, other Arabs, Muslims and others struggling for self-preservation and self-determination does not conflict with challenging actual racist speech. Though we may choose to avoid legal arguments or battles over whether something is hate speech, and therefore whether it should or should not be protected by free speech, we can and do organize against anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian racist speech. Several good examples come from some of the strategies that have been used to challenge Pamela Geller's racist advertisements on various public transportation systems across the United

States and use them to expose the virulent racism of the Islamophobia network of which she is a part. These have included "ad busting" (as depicted in this picture), using the ads to both challenge the message and create alternative messages that support anti-racist, pro-justice messages; discussions of a class action suit against SF Muni (the city bus system) for profiting on racism against Muslim people; discussions of organizing an SF Muni bus boycott on grounds of racism against various members of San Francisco's community – from harassment of young Black men to a lack of access by working class and poor communities of color, to the explicit racism of these ads.

Whether defending the free speech of those fighting for self-preservation and justice or challenging racist speech, we have the opportunity to raise the questions of which people and what speech are protected and which people and what speech are targeted and criminalized, thus challenging the fundamental inequalities that underlie these battles over free speech.

- » **Identifying opportunities for strategic defense and offensive strategies:** By strategic defense we mean fighting backlash in ways that both successfully defend our organizing and also strengthen it. This might include setting public agency policies, legal precedents, or campus administrative policies that expand the protections we have as a movement or which discourage our opposition from the tactics they use against us. Two examples of this kind of strategic defense include the Olympia Food Co-op campaign and the Steven Salaita case.

The case of the Olympia Food Coop defense by the Center for Constitutional Rights (see page 87) is a strong example of strategic defense by way of setting legal precedents in our favor. In addition to successfully defending the board members – who were being sued by Zionist members of the coop with support from Zionist backlash organization StandWithUs and the Israeli consulate – CCR and its legal team won an anti-SLAPP motion that resulted in an order for \$160,000 in damages from the plaintiffs.²³⁹

After donors pressured the University, Professor Steven Salaita was terminated from a tenured appointment at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) because of tweets condemning Israel's assault on the Gaza Strip in the Summer of 2014. There has been overwhelming grassroots support for Salaita, who has spoken at numerous campuses across the country, and UIUC's actions have been widely condemned, including by over 5000 academics who have boycotted the University and by sixteen UIUC departments who voted "no confidence" in the administration. There has also been an offensive legal strategy. Professor Salaita, represented by the Center for Constitutional Rights and Loevy & Loevy, has sued the University, its administrators and trustees for violating his constitutional rights to free speech and due process and for breaching his employment contract, seeking his reinstatement. Additionally, the lawsuit includes claims against unnamed donors for threatening to withhold donations to the university if it did not break its contract with Salaita. Professor Salaita has also brought a separate suit against the University under the Illinois Freedom of Information Act in order to get university officials' emails (including those to and from donors) regarding his firing.²⁴⁰

The campaign is a powerful example of combining strategic defense and taking the offense against our opposition through both legal and popular efforts. Furthermore, it demonstrates ways to use the kind of information about the funding and strategy behind Zionist backlash provided in this report to demand accountability from campus administrators.

- » **Continuing the long history of joint struggle between the Palestinian movement and other movements for self-preservation and justice:** From the national liberation struggles of the 1960s and 1970s to the South African anti-apartheid struggle to the anti-war movements of the 1990s and 2000s to today's uprisings against police killings and other forms of State violence against Black and Brown communities, Palestinian and other Arab-led efforts have sought to join their struggle with other struggles for self-determination. As it has been across history, and as this report demonstrates, the basis for joining together in struggle is not just parallel struggles against racism and repression or the political principle of solidarity and interdependence. It is also that movements for survival, freedom and justice share enemies in common whose interests literally erode and threaten everything these movements hold dear. Their power and resources are immense. Thus solidarity and joint struggle are not only principled but also strategic.

This report provides evidence that those funding backlash and Islamophobia are also funding attacks on many social justice movements – from environmental protections and justice to labor, from anti-racist and anti-poverty organizing to queer, transgender and women's rights, from anti-militarization to anti-repression, from public education to accessible health care. As in the past, today's opposition makes it easy to find campaigns and efforts to join together on. In the Block the Boat effort, we see a recognition and building of the common struggles it in the revival of the crucial role that labor, particularly Black workers, played in organizing against racism and apartheid. This is reflected in the solidarity of workers in Oakland with Palestinian workers in Gaza and local Palestinians whose families are facing a brutal massacre. In the Stop Urban Shield campaign we see the growing exposure and recognition of the collaboration and joint training of U.S. police and the Israeli military and the use of shared tactics and tools of repression against Black and Brown communities and movements in the United States and the people of and liberation struggle in Palestine of the Urban Shield organizing. We see joint struggle in the expressions of solidarity from Palestinians to those protesting racism in Ferguson including advice on how to mitigate the impact of teargas that Palestinians are so familiar with from decades of attacks from the Israeli military. And we see it in speeches, social media postings and articles by Black public figures, from public intellectual and activist Angela Davis²⁴¹ to football player Reggie Bush.²⁴²

CONCLUSION

*“Someday we’ll find fairness, some place in the world.
If we didn’t get justice now, we will get it later.”
~Political Prisoner Rasmea Odeh²⁴³*

As we have shown, Palestinian and pro-Palestine movements and activists face coordinated opposition from a network of state and private institutions committed to defeating Palestinian community organizing as well as campus organizing in support of the Palestinian struggle. The resources and actors within this backlash network map closely onto those which constitute the network for the promotion of Islamophobia. What is more, the financial and state support for both backlash and Islamophobia networks can be traced back to a relatively small wealthy elite. Their investments tend to stem not only from *ideological commitments*, but from *material interests* – namely ensuring optimal conditions for profitability and for maintaining their positions of power. In this respect, the political and economic investment of these elites in Zionist backlash and Islamophobia is *typical* rather than *exceptional*. Indeed, these elites are invested in a whole host of reactionary causes – from austerity measures to homophobia to climate change denial to privatization of schools – that are instrumental in the perpetuation of their economic, political and social power.

Just as this elite invests in myriad other reactionary causes to advance not only their ideology but their profit and power, their investment in Zionist backlash has a *very real material basis*. To begin with, since 1967 Israel has been a central pivot in U.S. state and capitalist strategy for domination over the Middle East/SWANA, and more specifically domination over its most coveted resource, oil. Furthermore, through a century of settler-colonial violence and decades of military occupation, Israel has developed unique expertise and thriving industries in militarization, policing, surveillance, and population control. Many of these elites are directly invested in the oil extraction and trade, military, arms or surveillance industries, and thus stand to *directly profit* off of the particular role Israel plays in the region. This elite’s investment in the Islamophobia network similarly aligns with its immediate monetary interests, as anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism have been one of the primary strategies for legitimating U.S. and Israeli military intervention and creation of chaos in the region. The use of military force has in turn been essential to manipulating the price of oil, as well as providing a booming market for arms, surveillance and infrastructure redevelopment industries.

Perhaps even more important, however, is this elite’s shared political investment *as a class* in the present global structures of profit and power, and therefore in the relations and forces – state, private, and civil society – which work to repress radical challenges to these structures. Israel has historically played an important role in undermining liberation struggles in the Middle East/SWANA and around the world, and it continues to play this role today. Furthermore, the technologies and tactics that Israel develops in its use of Palestine as a laboratory of repression prove to be of great use to other repressive states around the world that seek to manage their increasingly unequal societies and to control communities in struggle. From Palestine to Ferguson, these technologies of repression are used against Black and Brown communities, working class people, queers, immigrants, and liberation movements.²⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism provide elites in the U.S. and Europe not only justifications for intervention abroad, but also a means of repressing potential and actual dissent at home.

Thus, while systematic attacks against student organizing for campus divestment from Israel, or against community members organizing towards a local institutional boycott of Israeli goods, or Palestinian community leaders organizing in their communities at home and abroad is first and foremost an attack

on the Palestinian liberation and solidarity movements, it is also an attack on all of us. Moreover, these attacks are often funded and orchestrated by the very same elites and state actors to repress other movements for justice and communities whose repression and exploitation upon which they rely.

In documenting the resources, relationships, and tactics behind the backlash that we face, we have sought to provide information that we can use against our opposition. Continuing to develop strategic defense against repression as a shared site of struggle is a concrete way that our movements can identify and fight against a common enemy, where we can not only defend ourselves and one another, but also build our collective power in the process. We can thereby ensure that we are responding to backlash in ways which both protect our communities and continue to increase the space we have to fight for justice, which widen and deepen support for our movements, and which build common cause with other struggles for justice and liberation.

APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Antisemitism—A common strategy of Zionists is to use false charges of antisemitism as an attempt to assassinate the character of people who speak out for justice in Palestine. This is a cynical manipulation of the realities and histories of anti-Jewish racism. Antisemitism refers to a specific type of anti-Jewish racism that originated in Europe and is associated with state power or the interests of the ruling class. Although the specific laws and practices varied by country and time period, anti-Jewish oppression in Europe was systematically enforced for centuries. Some notable expressions of antisemitism included state sanctioned mass violence against Jews (e.g. the Russian Pogroms); Church directed surveillance, torture and expulsion/displacement of Jews and others (e.g. the Spanish Inquisition); limiting the economic opportunities and freedom of movement of Jews (e.g. Ghettos in Italy) and genocide (e.g. genocide perpetrated by the Nazis). Historically in Europe, anti-Jewish racism served the interests of the ruling elites by positioning Jews as a scapegoat for their own misuse of power and the inequities of society. Hallmarks of anti-Jewish racism usually include the idea that Jews control governments, banks or finances, and “the media” or that there is a worldwide conspiracy of Jews. Other examples of state power perpetuating and benefiting from anti-Jewish racism include targeting communist and socialist movements as “Jewish” or controlled by Jews. In this document, we use the spelling “antisemitism” rather than “anti-Semitism,” because the latter implies a coherent ideology or group of people, Semitism or Semites, which does not in fact exist.

Austerity—Policies instituted by governments to reduce budget deficits by cutting spending, particularly through reducing or eliminating social programs and entitlements like government-subsidized education, health care, housing, food aid, or cash assistance for low-income people. Austerity measures are often imposed by external creditors (other governments or international lending bodies such as the International Monetary

Fund) in exchange for loans or “bailout” money in a time of fiscal crisis.

Backlash—in the context of Pro-Palestine organizing, backlash refers to a concerted campaign to stop any and all criticism of Israel, and to do so by any means necessary. That means eradicating any support of the Palestinian struggle, and stopping movement work that can be used against Israel. They use military, surveillance, economic, political and legal means to achieve this goal, and take these strategies as far as they are able to get away with.

BDS (Boycott Divestment and Sanctions)—in 2005, a broad coalition of Palestinian civil society groups called for international solidarity organizations and activists to take up campaigns for the boycott of Israeli companies or multinational corporations that benefit from Israel’s occupation and colonization of Palestine; to pressure institutions such as universities, churches, and pension plans to divest their financial holdings from these corporations; and to demand that their governments and international bodies withdraw aid and support from Israel.

These tactics should persist until Israel meets minimum requirements vis-a-vis Palestinians:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.245 -

Capitalism—an economic system organized around the endless accumulation of capital. Capital is created through the exploitation of labor, the extraction of resources, and the manipulation of prices.

Delegitimization—in the context of Palestine organizing, “delegitimization” is a term introduced by the Reut Institute to characterize those organizations and activists who seek to question the fundamental legitimacy of Israel as a “Jewish state” which grants rights and privileges to Jews that it denies to other residents. The Reut Institute calls for weakening the pro-Palestine movement by creating a split between “criticizers” – those who criticize Israel’s actions – and “delegitimizers” who challenge Israel’s foundational ideology of Zionism.

Intermediaries—organizations or foundations that serve as a “middle man” between funders and the ultimate recipients of funds. Often, they exist in order to make less visible the relationship between these entities.

Islamophobia—The Center for Race and Gender at UC Berkeley defines Islamophobia as “a contrived fear or prejudice fomented by the existing Eurocentric and Orientalist global power structure. It is directed at a perceived or real Muslim threat through the maintenance and extension of existing disparities in economic, political, social and cultural relations, while rationalizing the necessity to deploy violence as a tool to achieve “civilizational rehab” of the target communities (Muslim or otherwise). Islamophobia reintroduces and reaffirms a global racial structure through which resource distribution disparities are maintained and extended.”²⁴⁶

Joint Struggle—a way of organizing that recognizes each of our stakes in ending Zionism, and demands that we struggle together to strengthen our movements. Each of our stakes and roles are specific but what is “joint” is the shared commitment to principles and goals of liberation, justice, equality, democracy, and freedom, and not compromising someone else’s freedom or justice for a short-term gain for our own constituency. The work may or may not be coordinated but it’s organized in a way that strengthens each of our parts of the struggle as well as the overall struggle, even if there is immediate cost to not compromising, or to not betraying one another.

Lawfare—a combination of the words “law” and “warfare” used to describe the use of legal means, often spurious law suits, to weaken an

opponent by tying up their time, money and other resources in legal battles.

Neo-Liberal—neoliberalism is the post-1980 transformation of global capitalism, within which the great gains of the various nationalist and progressive movements around the world were rolled back, including the destruction of welfare states in the Western capitalist democracies. It has also been accompanied and enabled by the progressive freeing-up of capital controls as well as increased use of high-tech state repression and surveillance.

Privatization—the transfer of publicly funded and controlled entities—such as public education systems, national health care services, public utilities such as water and electricity, and state-owned industries—into the hands of private, profit-driven corporations.

Zionism—an ideology of Jewish nationalism that drove the founding of the State of Israel in Palestine and continues to inform its expansion. Today the basic premise of Zionism is the securing of maximum land in historic Palestine for a state for Jewish people with the minimum number of Palestinians remaining in it.

One percent/Elite—The term “one percent” gained widespread use during the “Occupy” movement of 2011 in the United States. It describes the richest one percent of the U.S.’s population that control almost 40% of wealth – including half of stocks and mutual funds and 60 percent of securities. On the other hand, the remaining 99 percent largely shares an interest in changing the status quo toward a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources.

APPENDIX B: CASE STUDIES

Case Study: Eastside Arts Alliance

Timeframe: January – May 2009: during and following Israeli attack on Gaza of 2008/2009

Backlash organized by: Jewish Community Relations Council & Anti-Defamation League with “mediation” from Progressive Jewish Alliance

Summary:

Following the recent murder of Oscar Grant by transit police in Oakland, California and during Israel's brutal 2008/2009 attack the people of Gaza, Eastside Arts Alliance and the Gaza Action Committee (an activist collective responding to attacks on Gaza) organized an event on state-sponsored violence from Gaza to Oakland. Terrified of the connections being made, the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) and Anti-Defamation League (ADL) sent representatives to document the event. Following the event, the ADL and JCRC representatives both published articles denouncing the event as antisemitic.

Both organization then approached the Haas Foundation, a pro-Israel foundation, to request that the foundation use its influence as a funder of Eastside Arts Alliance to pressure the organization to issue an apology for the event and a poster that they considered particularly antisemitic and meet with JCRC to discuss the disagreement and collaborate with them on a public event. Eastside agreed to take down and write a brief apology for the image that a young person created and they felt was inaccurate and inappropriate but declined to apologize for the event that reflects their guiding political principles and program work. They also declined to meet or collaborate with an organization that they political oppose and who is attempting to coerce them to abandon their political principles in order to maintain funding.

After being asked by the Haas Foundation to do so, Progressive Jewish Alliance (PJA) reached out to Eastside Arts Alliance and offered to play a mediation role. PJA participated in economic coercion by pushing for Eastside to apologize rather than insisting that JCRC not use economic coercion and that Haas not make the funding of a community-based organization contingent on their support of Israel. As an organization committed to the ability of Third World people in the United States and internationally to live without exploitation, forced displacement and according to their own ways of life and values, such a request goes against the very foundation of Eastside Arts Alliance.

Moreover, PJA kept insisting that Eastside Arts Alliance needed sensitivity training to understand the nerve that they had hit by drawing parallels between the State violence against Palestinians and that of Black Americans. It did not occur to PJA that the Director of Eastside was, in fact, a Jewish Black woman. The International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network supported Eastside in the process of having to navigate the reactionary and liberal Zionist pressure they were experiencing and organized letters of support from Jewish community members who did not share the reaction that PJA, JCRC and Haas insisted was uniform in the Jewish community of the Bay Area.

Note:

The ADL complaint claimed that the following statements were false: “Palestinians have curfews just like youth in Oakland; Oakland police are trained by Israeli law enforcement to oppress minorities; during Hurricane Katrina, the Israeli Mossad shot black Americans trying to survive the devastation; the gentrification of Oakland is the same as “the Occupation”; the same company which built the security barrier in Israel is building the barrier between the U.S. and Mexico; and so on.”

The only unproven statement in the list above is that Mossad shot Black Americans trying to survive Katrina. However, the military did travel to New Orleans to train the National Guard in population control during and following Katrina.

Outcome: Ultimately, Haas stopped funding Eastside and another funder implied that they were not going to fund because of their concern over the issue of support for Israel. However, Eastside Arts Alliance has continued to operate and maintains its program and political principles, including solidarity with all struggles against racism and colonization. Sister organizations offered to support Eastside in identifying other funding sources.

Implications: Eastside Arts Alliance provided an example of staying to one's principles despite the pressure of funding/defunding. They were willing to lose some financial support rather than compromise on their principles, political goals, solidarity with others who they shared a struggle with and their programming. At the same time, they were willing to admit to problematic art being displayed without then agreeing with the overall criticism of the parallels they felt were valid between the violence in Gaza and the violence experienced by Oakland's Black and Brown communities. The support of Sister organizations around funding/defunding and of Jewish community members and IJAN against the false accusations of antisemitism and insensitivity were also useful in supporting Eastside's decision to stand on its principles. IJAN was also able to accompany Eastside to its meeting with PJA, playing a role of standing with the Director against the assumptions and false representation of a singular "Bay Area" Jewish community or perspective.

Ultimately, this case raises the importance of the Palestine solidarity movement's commitment to supporting organizations facing economic coercion by supporting their ability to continue to do the work. This might mean making introductions to foundations that are supportive, supporting them with a drive to make up the difference for the short-term, hosting fundraisers or other ways to support the organization with pro-bono or volunteer labor or resources.

Case Study: Northeastern University

Timeframe: Fall 2011 – Spring 2014

Backlash organized by: Americans for Peace and Tolerance, Hillel, Anti-Defamation League, Zionist Organization of American

Summary: This case study shows how right-wing media and billionaires were able to mount an escalating attack on the Northeastern chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine, to the point where the administration chose to indefinitely suspend the group. It also shows in minute detail the steps through which one multi-millionaire turned the university administration into an organic part of the repressive apparatus. Finally it shows how a massive, nation-wide media campaign, combined with community organizing and a strong student movement, was able to push back against well-financed external pressure groups in order to restore the SJP chapter to good standing on campus.

The main figure behind the repression was a tycoon named Charles Jacobs. After leaving CAMERA, he started the David Project and began to attack universities. The most famous case was that of Joseph Massad at Columbia University, but he also compelled Harvard Divinity School to turn down a five million dollar gift from a resident of the United Arab Emirates, who wanted to endow a Chair of Islamic Studies.²⁴⁷ With those successes, the David Project turned in a different direction. At that time, Jacobs left the David Project and started collaborating with Steven Emerson and David Horowitz to stop the Roxbury Mosque.²⁴⁸ At this point, the David Project reacted to the blowback against the (anti-mosque initiative and parted ways with Jacobs, which led to Jacobs's founding of Americans for Peace and Tolerance, a one-man video operation, which targeted Northeastern especially. He focused on two professors and the Muslim Chaplain, calling the latter a "terrorist indoctrinator."²⁴⁹ The school fired the chaplain, emboldening Jacobs to further action. For example, he started to say the Holocaust was being hijacked by SJP students.²⁵⁰ In turn, Jacobs as well as the ADL blamed the campus SJP for a December 2012 incident in which a campus Menorah was knocked over. The perpetrators ended up being two drunken fraternity members.

In March 2013, the Israeli army did a presentation, and the SJP did a walkout – a standard and widely accepted form of campus protest.²⁵¹ At that time, Salman Abu Sitta had been scheduled to come to the university the day after the walkout. The school canceled the event and sanctioned the SJP.²⁵² This occurred in the context of a series of videos and articles and press releases given traction by an astroturf network – a series of media institutions which essentially repeated nearly verbatim the same spurious claims.²⁵³ After this sanctioning, Northeastern's SJP was forced to write a civility statement. The administration also placed it on probation. The SJP received no direction as to the content of the "civility statement," and wrote it according to their own understanding of civility. The administration rejected it and simply never followed up with the SJP. At this point the school had basically turned the SJP into a non-functional organization. They were subject to opaque "civility tests" for their events, were not allowed funds, and were told that if they wanted to do further events at the law school they would have to pay for their own security detail – a violation of the law. By July 2013, when no one was present at the school, the Zionist Organization of America sent them a letter, and Robert Shillman²⁵⁴ was CCed on the letter.²⁵⁵

When the SJP returned to campus in September 2013, the letter was waiting for them, as well as its consequences. Charges of "Jewish students feeling unsafe" appeared on the local news. Meanwhile, the producer of that story was the exact same individual who was sued alongside Jacobs amidst their campaign to try to stop the construction of the Roxbury Mosque. Furthermore, the story quoted an individual from the ADL, who was the same person who represented them in the defamation suit which was tied to the campaign against the Roxbury Mosque. At the same point, the school was getting insistent calls about the news report, making it difficult to do political work. In turn, on the anniversary of the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, a picture of one individual in SJP wearing a Hezbollah t-shirt in 2006 was widely shared around campus. That individual received death threats,

and the timing of the posting of the photo was clearly designed to incite anger – given that it was posted exactly on the anniversary of the bombing, attempting to imply explicit support for exactly that act. On December 31 the pressure increased, as the administration condemned the American Studies Association’s decision, saying that “boycotts are antithetical to the free exchange of ideas.”²⁵⁶ On February 23 2014 the Northeastern SJP distributed mock eviction notices, another widely-performed bit of political theater. Within two days, Hillel was writing about how Jewish students felt targeted, and demanded an official response. The administration in turn suspended NE SJP, a contrast with its official stance of opposing academic boycotts – which are indeed protected political speech – on the false grounds that they limit freedom of expression.

The reaction from SJP and its local supporters was fast and strong. About 30 groups in Boston sponsored the march for free speech at Northeastern. Local steelworkers and school-bus drivers showed up, the fruit of SJP’s work in supporting the drivers against Veolia, as well as the steelworkers’ relationship with the drivers. At one point, even the Teamsters showed up with the giant inflatable rat. Local Palestine groups and local SJPs, including Harvard, Tufts, Boston University, UMass-Boston, as well local anti-war groups, Black and Pink, and the National Lawyer’s Guild, all participated. Phone calls began pouring into the administration – hundreds and hundreds every day to the point of shutting down the phone system. Due to a sophisticated media mobilization, NE SJP got excellent media coverage. NUSJP got coverage from NBC national news,²⁵⁷ and did over 100 interviews and placed an op-ed in the Boston Globe.²⁵⁸

Outcome: The massive show of solidarity on both local and national scales All of this led to their ultimate reinstatement, showing how a forceful grassroots campaign can reverse administrative decisions.

Implications: This shows that the Zionist networks are capable of mounting intense campaigns in order to attempt to remove SJPs from college campuses. Such campaigns also work on a logic of escalation, creating a series of “escalations” which if not countered hard enough at each stage, will snowball. They have multiple sources of information and material for defamation which they release strategically in order to create an atmosphere which will contribute to the demonization of pro-Palestine political work. But this case shows that a strong media strategy coupled with and underpinned by a local organizing strategy which mobilizes a rainbow coalition of progressive forces, including pro-free-speech liberals, can protect the space for anti-Zionist organizing.

Northeastern Suppression timeline

- » September 21, 2011 Steve Emerson Investigative Project article about Charles Jacobs and Americans for Peace and Tolerance [APT] Video RE: Imam at northeastern. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/3352/university-mum-on-radical-chaplain>
- » April 1, 2012 CHARLES JACOBS APT RELEASES VIDEO “HIJACKING HOLOCAUST REMBRANCE AT NORTHEASTERN.” [HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=X1KDSEZCNEK](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1KDSEZCNEK)
- » April 02, 2012: UNITED WEST publishes article about Jacobs’ holocaust at northeastern video. <http://theunitedwest.org/apt-accuses-northeastern-u-holocaust-program-of-anti-israel-defamation/>
- » April 02, 2012: Camera subsidiary CIF Watch publishes APT video starring Landes and Cj’s “Hijacking the holocaust at Northeastern” video. <http://cifwatch.com/2012/04/02/hijacking-holocaust-remembrance-at-major-u-s-university-to-demonize-israel-as-nazi-state/>
- » April 27, 2012: PJ media publishes Jacobs article on northeastern-video <http://pjmedia.com/blog/northeastern-university-profs-gone-wild/>
- » September 05, 2012: Charles Jacobs’ APT releases video about Northeastern’s Imam [containing clips of SJP] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50YgDPSheVk>
- » September 05, 2012: Investigative Project on Terrorism chimes in about Northeastern chaplain

based entire article on APT press release/ video. <http://www.investigativeproject.org/3738/radical-imam-may-be-out-at-northeastern>

- » 9/14/2012: Jacobs article for Boston Jewish advocate reprinted by campus watch. <http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/12550>
- » 9/27/2012 CHARLES JACOBS' APT RELEASES 32 MINUTE VIDEO TITLED ANTISEMITIC EDUCATION AT NORTHEASTERN FEATURING CLIPS OF SJP AND TWO PROFESSORS. <HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=A9MMOILCDA4#T=34>
- » September 27, 2012: Israel National News runs Charles Jacobs' press release about APT's "Exposing Northeastern" as news story. http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/160347#.UoFqQ_msgyp
- » October 4, 2012: Pamela Geller on her Atlas Shrugs blog, writes about Jacobs and his APT videos with the headline: "Shocking Jew Hatred at Northeastern." http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2012/10/shocking-jew-hatred-at-northeastern-university.html
- » October 14, 2012: American Thinker publishes article about CJ and Americans for Peace and Tolerance videos. (many quotes) by Stephan Schwartz titled "Northeastern's Islamists" http://www.americanthinker.com/2012/10/northeastern_universitys_islamists.html * Stephen Schwartz is executive director of the Center for Islamic Pluralism. He wrote this article for Campus Watch, a project of the Middle East Forum.
- » December 3, 2012, FrontPage mag article by SPME president Richard L. Cravatts defaming Northeastern SJP. <http://frontpagemag.com/2012/richard-l-cravatts/northeastern-us-students-for-justice-in-palestine-cheerlead-hamas-call-for-the-murder-of-jews/>
- » December 12, 2012 ADL press release alleging antisemitism at Northeastern: "several Jewish communities across the U.S. reported additional anti-Semitic acts, among them the vandalism of a menorah on the quad at Northeastern University, where anti-Semitic fliers were also discovered (same as ZOA letter), and anti-Jewish graffiti on Hanukkah displays in South Florida. <http://www.adl.org/press-center/press-releases/miscellaneous/adl-highlights-top-10-issues.html>
- » December 16: 2012 CHARLES JACOBS' APT RELEASES VIDEO CALLED "NORTHEASTERN UNBECOMING" FEATURING INTERVIEWS WITH Richard Cravatts of SPME <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HKODRnbUziw>
- » December 17, 2012: Richard Landes who is an SPME guy and runs Second Line Media & the Pallywood Blog, article parroting latest Charles Jacobs' video with many CJ quotes..."Israel and the Problem at Northeastern" http://www.mindingthecampus.com/originals/2012/12/israel_and_the_problem_at_nort.html
- » 3/15/2013: Jacobs in FRONT PAGE accusing NU of "Campus blood libel" http://frontpagemag.com/2013/charles-jacobs/israeli-apartheid-week-learn-to-crush-it/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+FrontpageMag+%28FrontPage+Magazine+%C2%BB+FrontPage%29
- » Cravatts of SPME writes article Re NU and Tammi Ross- Benjamin in Times Of Israel. Republished at SPME. <http://spme.org/anti-semitism/pro-palestinian-activists-claim-free-speech-for-me-but-not-for-thee-on-california-campuses/11124/>
- » July 05, 2013: Susan Tuchman pens ZOA Title 6 threat letter to NU immediately leaked to Charles Jacobs and published on the Americans for Peace and Tolerance website: http://shameonneu.com/docs/zoa_aoun.pdf
- » 8/15/2013: SPME article about FAU and NU on SPME <http://spme.org/campus-news-climate/free-speech-or-heckling/15478/>
- » September 13, 2013: "Camera on Campus" applauds sanctions against SJP

Case Study: Cornell University

Timeframe: Fall 2012 – Spring 2014

Backlash organized by: CIPAC (Cornell AIPAC Affiliate), Police, Hillel

Summary:

The specific incident this case highlights began in November 2012. The local Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) group called for a protest in defiance of the then-ongoing Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip. The protest was endorsed by over a dozen community and campus organizations. The local Zionist group – Cornell Israel Political Action Committee (CIPAC) – called a counter-protest in the same location: Ho Plaza, a central campus hub. Both protests started at roughly the same time.

The Campus Code then in effect stated, “there appears to be no need for a mandatory permit procedure” for public demonstrations.²⁵⁹ The sub-regulations governing the use of the space, likewise did not mandate a permit for its use.²⁶⁰ The SJP group also insisted that it was morally opposed to a permit process. Nevertheless, once the protests began, according to the Chief of Campus Police, Kathy Zoner, “[CIPAC] had rights to the space and they asked [SJP] to move out,” she said. “There was an official complaint filed that [CIPAC] had booked the space and [SJP] didn’t rent the space. So it’s just matter of who filed for the space.”²⁶¹ The Campus Police in turn tried to remove the SJP rally from the space, and also demanded identification from university faculty who were participating in the protest. According to student testimony, the Cornell campus police threatened one student with arrest and threw another to the ground. The SJP-organized rally at that point left Ho Plaza.

Zoner had gone to Israel in October 2011 on an Experience Israel Training Tour in Tel Aviv. She had stated, “The conference’s focus on security of communities tied in nicely with our jobs here of keeping the campus safe from external threats,” adding, “You need to find a balance between academic freedom as well as keeping people safe.”²⁶² A firm called MK International Security Training, run by a former South African and Israeli army officer, designed the tour.²⁶³ The campus newspaper articles discussing the protests and the tour do not mention why a university police chief would need techniques drawn from Israel and South Africa to deal with students. Furthermore, one of the students on CIPAC’s executive board that year was in 2013-2014 a CAMERA Campus Fellow, and later helped host a speaker from the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, which Sheldon Adelson and the Sarah Scaife Foundation fund.²⁶⁴

But the story does not end there. A grassroots network of students and faculty concerned with the censorship of SJP pushed for an investigation of the events on Ho Plaza, at the same time as the Cornell administration carried out a parallel investigation. The Faculty Senate, with the backing of a significant number of Faculty Senators, voted overwhelmingly in favor of a resolution to “to form an ad hoc committee to investigate any interference with freedom of expression, academic freedom, and freedom of peaceable assembly.”²⁶⁵ The university’s investigation interviewed no student participants, and concluded that “The campus police officers present stepped into the fray in a well-intentioned attempt to referee what became a very intense verbal confrontation between the pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian groups,” and essentially found no fault, noting that “In short, the University may have diverted some speech; but it did not suppress speech because of its content, nor act to censor or discipline any participants for expressive activity.”²⁶⁶ The broader Faculty Senate report, however, found that “One member of the SJP was threatened with arrest. During the proceedings, a female student was knocked to the ground.” It continued, observing that while the police officers interviewed felt that there was a “very real possibility” of violence breaking out,

Everyone else — student leaders from both groups, the faculty involved, and event manager — stated that, while the event was loud and emotions ran high, there was never any threat of violence. Actual physical scuffles only occurred when the CUP and event manager returned

for a second time with the intent to remove, from Ho Plaza, the person mistakenly identified as “not affiliated with Cornell.”

The report concluded that

The right of faculty to participate in peaceful demonstrations on campus is to be affirmed and observed and public safety officers need to be aware of that fact. The right to ad hoc assembly for the purpose of free speech and expression, without the necessity of filing a...notification, should be preserved and protected... In particular, both event managers and CUP [Cornell University Police] officers should have explicit training, beyond what is currently done, regarding free speech, peaceful assembly, and academic freedom on campus, including faculty participation in public demonstrations. In addition to preserving the peace, an explicit charge to event managers and CUP should be to protect rights guaranteed in the First Amendment.²⁶⁷

At the same time as the Faculty Senate was preparing this report, the University Assembly was considering changes in the Campus Code proposed by Cornell's Committee of Judicial Codes – upon which Zoner then sat. The University Assembly tabled the proposals, after both faculty and students spoke out and sent in comments detailing the problems with the revisions. The University Assembly again considered revisions the next year.

Outcome: After an initial attempt to ignore the recommendations of the Faculty Senate report, dozens of students and professors sat in at the 2014 proceedings with banners, and pushed the University Assembly to pass a revision to the Campus Code, which now states, “Outdoor picketing, marches, rallies, and other demonstrations generally pose no threat of long-lasting exclusive use of University grounds or property. No university permit is required for such outdoor activities.”²⁶⁸ This is one of the most progressive campus codes in the entire country.

Implications: The incident at Cornell University reveals both the intersection of the administration, its police, and anti-Palestinian Zionist groups in censoring pro-Palestinian protests, as well as how a grassroots effort combined with faculty organizing can both hold the institution accountable and change campus regulations to make them more permissive of student and faculty speech. This change in the Campus Code came about through coalition building among students from various groups, including SJP but also individuals from labor and feminist groups, showing that bottom-up organizing can not only push back against a well-funded opposition and a biased police and administration but can compel changes in campus regulations which broaden the parameters of officially permitted speech. The incident also reveals that student groups should be aware of the powerful role of law and regulations, and should try to get them to work in their favor, even while insisting on their categorical right to freely engage in protests as a matter of first principles.

Case Study: New York University

Timeframe: Spring 2014

Backlash organized by: TorchPac (local AIPAC affiliate), Anti-Defamation League, *Times of Israel*, Local Congresspeople

Summary: The fallout from the mock eviction notice action at New York University shows the extent to which university administrators, under pressure from both campus and external organizations, make threats to sanction Palestine solidarity that they are then unable to seriously follow through on. On April 23, 2014, NYU Students for Justice in Palestine called attention to Israel's illegal demolitions of Palestinian homes by distributing mock eviction notices, clearly marked as fake, to over 2000 students at two of the largest campus dormitories – Palladium and Lafayette.²⁶⁹ The flyers were slipped under every door on every floor of each hall.

The following morning, a member of AIPAC's NYU student affiliate, TorchPAC, published a blog post on the *Times of Israel* website in which she accused SJP of targeting Jewish students, distributing antisemitic flyers, and having financial ties to Hamas.²⁷⁰ Her only evidence for the claim that SJP targeted Jewish students was the existence of a Shabbat elevator in Palladium. That unsubstantiated charge spread to other media, making for sensationalistic headlines in the *National Review Online*, *New York Post*, *New York Daily News*, and other outlets.²⁷¹

The story eventually made it to wider audiences as local television channels conducted interviews with SJP members and NYU students. In one segment, Etzion Neuer of the Anti-Defamation League claimed the flyers left students feeling “unsafe.”²⁷² Fox News hosted the NYU TorchPAC student responsible for the original *Times of Israel* post in a national spot, in which she reiterated her charges of that NYU SJP is antisemitic and receives funding from Hamas.²⁷³ NYU spokesperson John Beckman rejected the former charge, explaining that

we don't believe there is perception of [Palladium and Lafayette] as being home to a higher percentage of Jewish students (the presence of a Sabbath elevator in one of them to serve Jewish students is the result of a stairway that empties to the street and cannot be entered through the lobby behind the security desk, not because of a particularly large presence of Jewish students in that building)....²⁷⁴

In that post and in subsequent statements, the student anti-Palestine activist and TorchPAC called for disciplinary action against SJP. The pressure, though, came not only from NYU students, but also from external actors. Most notably, Brooklyn Assemblyperson Dov Hikind published a statement condemning SJP's action as “racially motivated” and “pure hate,” demanding that NYU “immediately and publicly take action against those who perpetrated this act of intimidation and harassment.”²⁷⁵

The action was peaceful protest and so was protected by NYU's rules of conduct. Neither NYU SJP nor any of its members had been charged with a violation – or even contacted directly – by the NYU administration when Beckman told a news site that the school's student affairs division was “looking into this as a judicial matter,” and that the outcome of the investigation would involve “restorative justice” in which “we will bring together the parties to work together under the direction of our Muslim and Jewish chaplains.” Although Beckman's statement declared claims of antisemitism and targeting Jewish students to be unfounded, the comment indicated that NYU accepted a religious framing of SJP's action and the subsequent response.

Despite claims that NYU students had been made to feel unsafe by SJP's mock eviction notices, it was SJP members who received harassing phone calls and online messages in the wake of the media coverage, intimidation that only intensified after the repetition of the Hamas allegation on Fox News. Despite agreeing that the accusations against SJP were false, the NYU administration nonetheless

caved in to pressure to attempt disciplinary action.

Members of SJP leadership at NYU had two meetings with the administration. In the first meeting, Thomas Grace, director of community standards and compliance, said that although the group may not have broken a “written rule” the “disturbance” was cause for punishment. SJP refused to accept any charges or submit to disciplinary action on the basis that doing so would be admitting guilt.

Outcome: Ultimately, the affair was resolved by a meeting between SJP’s leadership and NYU housing officials in which SJP reaffirmed its stance that the eviction notices were protected political speech. Though the meeting was presented as the process for any group or individual accused of disturbing residence hall life, the Vice President of the University, Marc Wais, volunteered to facilitate the meeting. The informal meeting was premised on the threat of punishment in the form of suspension and/or the *real* eviction from NYU housing of SJP members involved in the protest. When SJP leadership requested a written statement from the University confirming that no wrongdoing had occurred and that the informal discussion with housing officials would be the last step in the matter, Vice President Wais called the personal cellphone of the SJP president and demanded an explanation, labeling the request “ludicrous” and imploring SJP to conduct the process out of “trust” in the University. Wais eventually agreed to send written confirmation.

Though SJP leadership requested the University release an official statement on the incident reaffirming our right to free speech, debunking claims of antisemitism, and falsifying accusations of funding from Hamas (NYU provides SJP with its whole budget, and has full access to its financial records), the university did not do so.

Implications: Through careful mobilization and a deliberate media strategy, SJPs are able to rally their supporters or others who support freedom of speech categorically – including, especially, university faculty – in order to prevent suppression campaigns.

Case Study: Florida Atlantic University

Timeframe: Spring 2013

Backlash organized by: Anti-Defamation League, Zionist Organization of America

Summary: The incident that took place, over the course of four months, at Florida Atlantic University sheds light on how the administration buckles severely to the demands of Zionist organizations and donors. The specifics of this case begin in April 2013 when human rights activists protested the Israeli Colonel and war criminal, Bentzi Gruber's, presentation. The event was sponsored by the pro-Israel student organization, Owls for Israel, and the Zionist Organization at America. Before members of SJP and other human rights activists decided to protest the event they met with the then Director of the Student Union, Dr. Larry Faerman, now the interim Dean of Students, to discuss viable options of protesting. After less than 20 minutes the students were dismissed and given no options or advice.

The day of the event approximately 20-25 people attended the event and roughly 15 of them were human rights activists. After the speakers opening remarks the students began leaving silently while 1 student spoke. The police had entered the room as students were standing up and the University officials including Larry Faerman and the former Senior Vice President of Student Affairs, Dr. Charles Brown, had blocked the exit for a number of students, slowing down their ability to leave the room. However, in less than two minutes all the activists had left the room and the students continued their protest outside the room for an hour. After a couple weeks students began receiving emails from Division of Student Affairs that they were being investigated for allegedly violating the student code of conduct.

Placing this protest in the larger context of protests that were happening at this time at FAU would reveal the university's selective and abrasive method of suppressing pro-Palestinian speech at any cost. In the month leading to the protest of Bentzi Gruber, human rights and social justice activists at FAU and the community protested the for-profit private prison company, the GEO Group, buying the naming rights to the newly built 70 million dollar FAU stadium. Students from SJP took part in the protests and conducted a sit-in at the office of former University President, Mary Jane Saunders.²⁷⁶ No action was taken against the activists and resulted in the GEO-Group withdrawing its "donation" of 6 million dollars and its quest to claim the naming rights.

During the investigation of SJP students Dr. Charles Brown informed another student that those under investigation would be suspended and/or expelled regardless of their constitutional rights, largely because of the extensive amount of external pressure being put on the University by the ADL, ZOA and wealthy Zionist donors. The ADL openly states that it worked closely with the University administrators to ensure that the students were punished.²⁷⁷ After a four month intensive investigation by the university, they sanctioned two students, placing them on indefinite probation, stripping them of any type of leadership positions until graduation, and requiring them to undergo a mandatory "diversity training course" co-sponsored and facilitated by the Anti-Defamation League. If the students refused to attend the course they would have to go through further investigation and then be suspended or expelled.

The more obvious reason as to why this "diversity training course" is very problematic is because it is insinuating that students who oppose Israeli policies are in need of diversity training. The university is sending the message that you will be classified as a racist if you oppose systematic oppression, human rights violations and war crimes. The greater objection came from the students and their attorneys because the students found it degrading and mentally abusive to have to attend any training course about tolerance affiliated with the ADL, who are at the forefront of nationwide efforts to stifle student activism that criticize Israeli policies and advocate for Palestinian human rights.

The Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) and Its Committee on Academic Freedom released sent an open letter to the Interim President. Dennis Crudele, addressing the administration's decision to force such a course on the students. The letter stated,

...we are also very concerned about a second issue: the requirement that students undergo the ADL's "A Campus of Difference" program. As you must know, the ADL is hardly neutral with respect to the Israeli - Palestinian conflict; indeed, it has frequently been criticized for routinely conflating virtually any form of criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism. To require that students who define themselves as activists on behalf of Palestinian rights undergo an anti-bias training program developed by the ADL, which espouses political views diametrically opposed to their own and which, moreover, defines views such as the students' not as simply misguided but as anti-Semitic, strikes us as highly inappropriate and as a threat to the academic freedom of all members of the FAU community.²⁷⁸

Outcome: Despite MESA's letter and the multiple other letters from American Muslims for Palestine,²⁷⁹ The Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Lawyers Guild, and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the University held to its position and the students remained on probation until graduation and were required to undergo the AOL's diversity training program.²⁸⁰

Implications: Despite some pushback from established and important organizations which work to defend free speech as well as Palestinian rights, it seems that without community-level mobilization it is very difficult to reverse punitive decisions from university officials.

Case Study: University of Michigan Divestment and the Washington Free Beacon

Timeframe: Spring 2014

Backlash organized by: *Washington Free Beacon*, Pamela Geller, Israel on Campus Coalition, and Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law

Summary: The specific incident occurred on March 26 2014 after an emotional weeklong sit-in and divestment campaign organized by Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE) at the University of Michigan ended with the defeat of a Central Student Government (CSG) divestment resolution. A Facebook photo of one of SAFE's board members was taken out of context and published in the *Washington Free Beacon* in an article by Adam Kredo titled "BDS Leader Posts 'Overtly Threatening' Photo to Facebook."²⁸¹

The photo in question shows the SAFE member with a kuffiyeh wrapped around his face and holding a knife to a pineapple with the caption, "It's on." It was posted to Facebook months before any divestment resolution was proposed at CSG and had nothing to do with any BDS campaign. In reality, it was a joke aimed at an opposing basketball team with mostly Arab and Muslim players that had the name "Team Ananas," Arabic for pineapple.²⁸²

Despite this, Kredo posted the photo on the *Washington Free Beacon* without getting context from the SAFE member, and insinuated that the photo was a violent threat against the University of Michigan's pro-Israel community. He quoted a couple of "authoritative figures," including Jacob Baime, the executive director of the Israel on Campus Coalition, and Kenneth Marcus, president of the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law. In the article, Marcus analyzes the photo as a violent gesture and links it to holocaust denial and antisemitism. Bizarrely, he hypothesizes that the pineapple is a symbol for Israel as "the closest one can get in a Michigan grocery store to a sabra, a fruit associated with Israel and Jewish people."

Marcus has been the head of the spear in the use of Title VI claims to police Palestinian activism on campuses.²⁸³ Part of the 1964 civil rights act, Title VI is meant to prevent discrimination by institutions receiving federal funding. However, Zionist groups have been filing complaints that Palestinian activism creates hostile environments for Jewish students. For example, a 2012 complaint to the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights alleged that annual Israeli Apartheid Week and mock checkpoints at UC Berkeley creates an echo of the Nazi regime.²⁸⁴

Despite the inaccuracies of Kredo and Marcus's claims, the story soon appeared on a number of rightwing media sources including the blog of prominent Islamophobe Pamela Geller²⁸⁵ and the *Jerusalem Post* with none of the authors bothering to fact-check the story.²⁸⁶ Across these sources, overtones of Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism are evident in the ways they work to portray Palestinians as terrorists and BDS activists as "terrorist sympathizers." Additionally, they use accusations of antisemitism to try to delegitimize justified criticisms of Israel.

Outcome: Following the publication of the article, the University of Michigan's Head of Public Affairs reached out to Kredo requesting that he remove the article due to its inaccurate basis. Kredo responded by writing a follow-up article, writing "University of Michigan Official Denounces Free Beacon: Defends anti-Israel student pictured stabbing pineapple," illustrating the usefulness of such right-wing media in demonizing anti-Zionist or pro-Palestinian activism.²⁸⁷

Implications: This case highlights the tools Zionist forces use in order to delegitimize BDS campaigns, including deploying anti-Arab racism and Islamophobia. This incident exposes the vulnerability of student activists operating within University campuses to outside Zionist threats, and the limits of institutional protection. It finally shows that defamation campaigns are inevitable in the context of student activism and more broadly, and movements should be prepared to stand behind their participants who are wrongly accused.

APPENDIX C: EXTENDED PROFILES OF DONORS & INTERMEDIARIES

The **Jewish Communal Fund (JCF)** is yet another intermediary and line item in the laundry list of donors that both receives and distributes funds to organizations tied to Zionist backlash and the Islamophobia network. As a Donor-Advised Fund (DAF), in 2011 the JCF received \$320 million gifts, sat on \$1.1 billion in total assets, and granted out \$293 million, making it the 5th largest DAF in the country.²⁸⁸ Total contributions/grants went up to \$329 million by the end of the fiscal year 2014.²⁸⁹

Some of the larger foundations that provide gifts to the JCF include the Sweetfeet Foundation, which gave \$1.1 million in 2012.²⁹⁰ The Gotham Charitable Foundation Trust, which funds many of the same Islamophobic and pro-Israel media groups including CAMERA and Investigative Project on Terrorism – in addition to the Central Fund of Israel and JINSA – gave \$108,000 to the JCF in 2012.²⁹¹ The largest sum of money gifted to the JCF is no doubt the Keren Keshet - The Rainbow Foundation, who gave \$14 million to the JCF in 2008.²⁹² Keren Keshet Foundation has funded media platforms for Zionist pushback on college campuses, including funding the *Harvard Israel Review*, whose purpose was to provide alternative narratives of those that are critical of Israel on college campuses.²⁹³

Some of the organizations that the JCF contributed substantial funds to in 2014 include the Anti-Defamation League B'nai B'rith (more commonly the ADL) with almost \$250,000. Under the guise of fighting antisemitism and discrimination more broadly, the ADL has consistently surveilled and spied on Arab Americans, as well as blacklisted university staff and campus groups for holding critical perspectives on Israel by labeling criticism of Israel antisemitic.²⁹⁴ Ironically, the ADL, one of the most significant institutionalized purveyors of Islamophobia and self-appointed “Arbiter of Racism,” is even critical of the extremist group Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) for its racist and Islamophobic propaganda that claims that the US constitution is under attack from Islam and Sharia law.²⁹⁵

Because the JCF bankrolls the Islamophobia network in order to shield Israel by demonizing Arab groups more largely, it is not surprising that it also funded the AFDI with of \$70,000 in 2014. The AFDI is also known as Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), led by infamous anti-Muslim propagandist Pamela Geller.

On equal footing as the ADL and AFDI is the Clarion Project, which is widely considered Islamophobic because of its manufactured hysteria that casts “radical Islam” as representative of Muslims. This results in racist backlash against Muslims at large, juxtaposed with the “civilized,” “democratic,” and secular values of the West and Israel. Furthermore, the Clarion Project was awarded \$36,200 in 2014, and it uses its funds to produce anti-Muslim propaganda films such as *Obsession: Radical Islam's War Against the West*, *The Third Jihad*, and *Iranium*. *The Third Jihad*, which depicts images of Muslims killing Christians and children as representative of Islam, is especially significant because it was shown to 1500 New York Police Department officers as part of the larger backlash and institutionalization of an Islamophobia project that spies on, intimidates and squashes dissent of New York Muslims in order to prevent liberation struggles that can potentially undermine U.S.-Israeli interests in the Middle East.²⁹⁶

Racist films are not the only propaganda the Clarion Project engages in. In fact, Clarion is a critical hub in the Islamophobic and Zionist networks of campus backlash against student and faculty criticism of Israel. For example, on its Advisory Board are several notable anti-Muslim critics, including Daniel Pipes, Director of Middle East Forum (MEF). The MEF, a conservative U.S. think tank that defines and promotes U.S. interests in the Middle East and is in part funded by the granted \$31,150 from the JCF, is stated explicitly as aiming to “[work] for Palestinian acceptance of Israel.”²⁹⁷ The MEF, more specifically, founded Campus Watch to monitor criticism of Israel on college campuses, yet it serves

to harass and intimidate academics who dare criticize U.S.-Israeli policy through “McCarthyesque” smear campaigns.²⁹⁸

Similarly, the David Horowitz Freedom Center received \$15,200 from JCF in 2014, despite – or more accurately, because of – its reputation as a foundation that promotes anti-Muslim views. As an intermediary, the JCF uses its \$1 billion in assets to specifically target conservative organizations and think tanks to do its Islamophobic bidding.

Other outfits that the JCF fund – this time, with \$55,480 – include media-based organizations such as the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, Inc. (CAMERA), which dedicates itself to silencing criticism of Israel in the media by pressuring media outlets and publications to alter any unfavorable coverage of Israel under the pretenses that it contains anti-Israel bias. CAMERA was recently found to be engaged in a scandal whereby CAMERA members set up Wikipedia accounts, became administrators, and then intentionally re-wrote Wikipedia pages about the history of Israel’s occupation of Palestine to portray Israel more favorably, which resulted in the suspension of these accounts.²⁹⁹

Remarkably, the JCF granted another organization, *Israel21c*, funds totaling \$220,160 between 2008 and 2010 to similarly misinform the public about Israel through digital information manipulation.³⁰⁰ More specifically, the *Israel21c* paid college interns to post pro-Israel stories in social media without disclosing their publication in order to improve Israel’s brand and therefore distract from its atrocities in Palestine.³⁰¹

Similarly, Christians for Fair Witness on the Middle East (CFWME) is funded by the JCF – with \$50,000 – and also fights what it perceives as anti-Israel bias amongst Christian churches seeking to divest from Israeli institutions and companies. Besides the JCF, CFWME is funded by right-wing, pro-settlement Zionist groups such as the Newton D. & Rochelle F. Becker Foundation.³⁰²

At \$847,454, Friends of the Israel Defense Forces (FIDF) provides social immunity to Israeli soldiers in order to maintain public support of the military occupation of Palestine, without which the daily brutalization of Palestinians. (CITATION)

The JCF also prioritizes funding for the early Zionist movements and state bodies that have institutionalized and worked to legitimize the theft and expropriation of indigenous Palestinian land. For example, the JCF funds the Jewish National Fund (JNF). As a parastatal body, the JNF collects international funds to plant trees on ethnically cleansed Palestinian land, creating fake forests that make it impossible for Palestinians to return to their former villages and therefore solidify Zionist control of their land for exclusive Jewish benefit. By donating \$287,554 to the JNF, the JCF secures its other investments – i.e. what it gains in control and influence through grants to other organizations – in the state of Israel.

Other groups funded by JCF (liberal and conservative):

- » Federal Law Enforcement Officers Foundation of \$20,000 in 2014
- » George W. Bush Foundation \$11,900 in 2014
- » America-Israel Friendship League, Inc. \$99,600
- » Bend the Arc: A Jewish Partnership for Justice \$99,558
- » Earthjustice \$49,130
- » East Bay Asian Youth Center \$10,000
- » Institute for the Global study of Anti-semitism and Policy \$20,000
- » Heritage Foundation \$18,000
- » American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research \$225,000

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 - 11 An earlier phase of this recurring pattern was mounting concern about radicalism and the increasing power of organized labor at the end of World War I. At that time, a series of strikes rippled across the country, including mineworkers, textile workers, and a general strike in Seattle. This social disquiet led then-Attorney General Palmer to claim that a communist conspiracy was afoot to overthrow the government. The response was an effort to contain the so-called Red Menace. After a number of bombings targeting other government officials as well as Palmer himself, he ordered raids against the Industrial Workers of the World, elements of the Communist Party, and radical immigrants. The latter were largely from Russia and southern and eastern Europe. The largest raid was on January 2 1920 when the government arrested and held without bail 10,000 people suspected of being communists or fellow-travelers. It then deported many of the arrestees, especially recent immigrants.
- The African-American black community did not escape the government crackdown. Many thousands of black soldiers returned home after WWII, determined to fight for democracy at home and to push back against recurrent lynching, as well as the Jim Crow laws which prevented their participation in political democracy. Indeed, between April 1919 and October 1919, there were twenty-five riots and dozens of lynchings. But the real peril lay in organized resistance, at least from the perspective of the Department of Justice. Government surveillance of African Americans black people increased greatly both during and after the war. Some of these techniques prefigured later methods of repression: deportation of the vulnerable, coordinated and simultaneous attacks on communists and African-Americans black people, and the interlacing of state and non-state institutions and groups to both use legal or state tools of oppression and vigilante violence to conjure up an atmosphere of terror so as to scare communities back into reluctant submission.
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 - 14 The COINTELPRO program was a comprehensive U.S. government program designed to disrupt and destroy anti-war organizing, the student movement, the Black liberation movement, and a variety of other movements for cultural, political, and national emancipation. As Freedom Archives, the authority on COINTELPRO, notes, "COINTELPRO may not be a well-understood acronym but its meaning and continuing impact are absolutely central to understanding the government's wars and repression against progressive movements. COINTELPRO represents the state's strategy to prevent movements and communities from overturning white supremacy and creating racial justice. COINTELPRO is both a formal program of the FBI and a term frequently used to describe a conspiracy among government agencies—local, state, and federal—to destroy movements for self-determination and liberation for Black, Brown, Asian, and Indigenous struggles, as well as mount an institutionalized attack

against allies of these movements and other progressive organizations.

COINTEPRO used a great variety of methods, including murder, prosecution, incarceration, deportation, infiltration, but one of the primary tactics was fomenting tensions within groups and then using those tensions in order to divide groups, rendering them unable to contribute meaningfully to the struggle. As the Church Committee concluded, COINTELPRO was "a sophisticated vigilante operation aimed squarely at preventing the exercise of First Amendment rights of speech and association."

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The International Jewish AntiZionist Network (IJAN) is an international network of Jews who are uncompromisingly committed to struggles for human emancipation, of which the liberation of the Palestinian people and land is an indispensable part. We are committed to the dismantling of Israeli apartheid, the return of Palestinian refugees, and to ending the Israeli colonization of historic Palestine. We coordinate and support Jewish participation in local and international efforts to challenge Zionism, Islamophobia and other racism, separatism and militarism, and work towards a society premised on the economic, political, social, cultural and environmental rights of all people, beginning with the most vulnerable communities. IJAN currently has chapters across the United States and chapters or affiliates in Argentina, Toronto, India, Israel, France, London, Geneva, Austria, New Zealand, Spain, and the Netherlands.

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